

DOUGLASS' MONTHLY.

"OPEN THY MOUTH FOR THE DUMB, IN THE CAUSE OF ALL SUCH AS ARE APPOINTED TO DESTRUCTION; OPEN THY MOUTH, JUDGE RIGHTEOUSLY, AND PLEAD THE CAUSE OF THE POOR AND NEEDY."—1st Eccl. xxi. 8, 9.

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CONTENTS OF THE PRESENT NUMBER.

| | |
|--|----|
| Eulogy of the late Hon. Wm. Jay..... | 81 |
| Is American Evangelical Religion Friendly to Freedom?..... | 86 |
| The Meeting in Shiloh Presbyterian Church..... | 87 |
| Vital Godliness and Sound Morality..... | 88 |
| H. W. Beecher on the Am. Tract Society..... | 89 |
| Acknowledgments..... | 89 |
| Meeting of the Glasgow New Association for the Abolition of Slavery..... | 89 |
| Another Just Man Gone..... | 89 |
| Slave-Hunters in New York..... | 89 |
| Letters from the Old World..... | 90 |
| The American Tract Society..... | 91 |
| The Oberlin-Wellington Rescue Prisoners..... | 92 |
| Death of Joseph Sturge..... | 93 |
| A Fugitive Slave Case..... | 93 |
| Burnt Alive..... | 93 |
| Citizenship..... | 94 |
| Miscellaneous News Items..... | 96 |

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EULOGY OF THE LATE HON. WM. JAY,

By FREDERICK DOUGLASS, delivered on the invitation of the Colored Citizens of New York City, in Shiloh Presbyterian Church, on Thursday evening, May 12th, 1859.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS:—We have assembled here this evening in meek and willing obedience to a very natural and very sacred feeling of the human heart. A sad and solemn event has touched all our sensibilities.—The shock is, indeed, a severe and painful one; but the duty which it has devolved upon us, may be well and properly performed in a resigned and cheerful spirit. Deep as is our sense of the great loss which has befallen us, and our people generally, and much as the good causes to which our hearts are attached will suffer from this bereavement, we cannot and ought not speak or listen on this occasion, as a people suddenly overtaken and overwhelmed by an extraordinary calamity.—Lament we may, and must, but not like those oppressed by a heavy and inconsolable grief. Where the full measure of human existence has been evenly filled up—where one has not been cut down and removed from us, in the midst of his years, and with all life's plans and purposes suddenly arrested and broken off, wholly unfinished—where a beautiful and blameless life has been calmly and peacefully ended, amid all the sweet consolations of home, family and friends—where the loss of those who remain behind is the exceeding gain of him who has gone before—where sin, the malignant sting of death, has no power to wound the dead, and no poison to inflame the wounds of the living—there is left no permanent lodgment for pain and sorrow. Clouds and darkness may indeed gather over and

around, but they cannot linger long about the grave of a truly good and great man. Even through the frowning gloom of the valley of the shadow of death, bright beams may be seen encircling, with mellow beauty and golden promise, a weeping sky? Smiling through their very tears, the heavens never look more steadfast and immovable, than when swept by the storm. As with the brave old overhanging firmament, calm and serene, so may we contemplate the event that brings us here tonight.

By virtue of his nobler endowments, his more subtle and tender relationships, reaching out in all directions, taking hold of the life that now is, and the life which is to come, man is ever exposed to wilder shocks of grief and sadder disappointments, than are beings of less sensitive and less intelligent attributes. Very great, and sometimes very appalling, are the sorrows and afflictions inseparable from human experience. They do, indeed, often come in like raging floods, relentless in their course, causing old foundations to crumble and fall, bearing away upon their turbid waters so many of the precious objects of affection, that in the moments of our extreme desolation, we would almost exchange our natures with the less endowed and apparently more happy order of life which surrounds us. To have the objects of our earnest love caught away from us forever, to see the majestic pillars of our strength and trust falling all around us, to watch with eager eyes the flickering lamps of our best and fondest hopes one by one, as in solemn procession, going out in darkness, will sometimes make even the strong man to quiver with a sense of his loneliness and of his nothingness. The powers above and around him seem too much for him. He is hemmed in on every hand, and to himself he appears but as the small dust of the balance, at the mercy of every breeze.

But here, in the very hour of his extreme destitution, there is ample provision made for man. Religion and reason loom out of the howling wilderness of doubt and desolation. Each troubled soul may have his Mount Pisgah! Sublime heights are ever accessible! He who will, may ascend and find all enemies, even death itself, the last enemy beneath his feet. From these lofty altitudes of thought and light, all earthly losses, sorrows, griefs, and afflictions, may be viewed with a tranquil heart and a hopeful spirit. The beneficent law of compensation operates here as elsewhere, fully vindicating the wisdom and the goodness of the great Creator of the Universe, in all His works and ways. Higher consolations, larger satisfactions in harmony with his more exalted nature, are provided for man. In the midst of all the ills which may beset him in this life, he may truthfully and gratefully exclaim, there is a balm for every wound, and a cordial for every fear.

Among the deepest and most enduring foundations of unperverted human nature, far out

of reach of the common and inevitable calamities of life, there lives and reigns the sentiment of religion, a sentiment which, in all the ages, the darkest and rudest, not less than in the most enlightened and refined, has filled the world with wonders, and linked the loyal soul in reverence to the great source of eternal power and wisdom. By the proper cultivation of this sentiment, man has become illuminated with the holiest inspirations, and made himself equal to all the ills to which flesh is heir. Side by side with this great and all-controlling sentiment, and very nearly allied to it in character and modes of operation, the same in quality, only less in power and authority, there is another sentiment which takes cognizance of all that is good and great, made concrete in the lives of individual men. As in respect to religion, so in respect to this, men have in different ages become fanatics and enthusiasts, stepping far beyond the bounds of reason, exalting absurdity into sense, the wildest folly into wisdom, and magnifying a worm of the dust into a God.

Nevertheless, by the proper exercise of this sentiment, it is permitted to the least and humblest of mankind, to hold honorable and ennobling converse with the purest and most exalted examples of human excellence. This high privilege, this sacred opportunity, is in a high degree ours this evening; for the man whose memory is to pass in review before us, has made the wisest and best use of life, and will be recognized as a shining example to the human race.

Without any of the pomp and vain-glory display with which the pride and magnificence of patriotism celebrate the virtues of the departed great men of the country, without ostentation or show, we have simply paused here for an hour, turned aside from the ordinary courses of our affairs, withdrawn from the brilliant festivals peculiar to this Anniversary Week, and have ventured in the sacred names of Liberty and Humanity, to take respectful and grateful notice of the death of a person eminent in all the virtues that can adorn the character of a genuine philanthropist.

Honorable WILLIAM JAY is dead! Since our last Anniversaries in this city, in the objects of which he took so lively an interest, he has been summoned the way of all the Earth! The broad, mysterious curtains which separate the busy scenes of Time and Sense from the solemn and measureless plains of Eternity, have silently fallen between us and him. We shall no more see the fragile form of WILLIAM JAY upon the earth. His pale and benignant face, so well and gratefully remembered by most of us, has been veiled in death! We have often seen his countenance glow with fervor and spirituality as he sat in our meetings, cheering on the utterance of the great truths of Liberty and Humanity, which were ever dear to his warm and generous heart. But his place on the Abolition platform is now vacant. His benevolent mission among men is now completed. His good

work on the earth is now done, and he is now gathered home to his exceeding great reward. His sleeping dust now lies among the ancestral tombs of his great family, and ancient patrimonial trees, now fling their plaintive shadows upon his new made grave. His body, amid solemn ceremonies, has been committed to the dust, from whence it was taken, and his immortal spirit has gone up to the God who gave it. In the death of WILLIAM JAY, the cause of Emancipation in the United States has lost one of its ablest and most effective advocates. Our peeled and woe-stricken people, both of the North and of the South, have lost an invaluable friend. We have, as a people, too few real friends even among our professed friends, and we have now lost one of the truest and best of that few. Some of the heaviest and bitterest reproaches under which we have been compelled to stagger, as a people, in this country, have come, unfortunately, from persons who affect to regard us as objects of compassion—men who actually trade in our sorrows, and live by our afflictions.— All the more, on this account, we feel and shall feel, the loss of our friend WILLIAM JAY. His friendship for us had its basis in principle. It was unaffected by the ebbs and flows of the national follies, for or against us, and stood inflexibly and unalterably the same in every hour of trial.

In view of the mighty struggle for freedom, in which we are now engaged, and the tremendous odds arrayed against us, every colored man, and every colored man's friend in this country, must deeply feel the great loss we have sustained in this death, and look around with anxious solicitude for the man who shall rise to fill the place now made vacant. With emphasis it may be said of him, he was our wise counsellor, our firm friend, and our liberal benefactor. Against the fierce onsets of popular abuse, he was our shield; against governmental intrigue and oppression, he was our learned, able, and faithful defender; against the crafty counsels of wickedness in high places, where mischief is framed by law, and sin is sanctioned and supported by religion, he was a perpetual and burning rebuke.

Poetry and eloquence will search in vain for nobler themes, with which to enlighten and inspire the minds of men than those which form the basis of the character and history of WILLIAM JAY. All that is commanding in virtue, all that is exalted and sublime in piety, all that is disinterested in patriotism, all that is noble in philanthropy, all that will bear, like the unblenching marble, the searching judgments of after coming ages, in which all our works shall be tried as by fire, stand out gloriously in the life of WILLIAM JAY.

One qualification which may serve me as an apology for venturing to speak in the name and memory of our eminent and honored friend, a friend whose name must confer honor upon all who seek to honor it—this it is: In common with you, my friends, I wear the hated complexion which WILLIAM JAY never hated; I have worn the galling chain which WILLIAM JAY earnestly endeavored to break. I have felt the heavy lash, and experienced in my own person the cruel wrongs which caused his manly heart to melt in pity for the slave.

Who but the slave should lament, when the champion of the slave has fallen! Who but the black man should weep, when the black

man's friend is no more! Who should rise to vindicate, honor, and bless the memory of WILLIAM JAY, if the colored people of this State and country may not properly do so?

While other rights may be denied us, while other privileges may be withheld from us, while we may not share in the honor of building the tombs of other great men of the country, whose actions so far as they touched us, tore open our wounds instead of healing them, surely no man will shut against us the offices of love and gratitude in this special instance. All will admit that those who have witnessed the scenes, and have endured the hardships of slavery, may be permitted to make some sign, however rude and awkward, in generous token of the love and gratitude with which the memory of WILLIAM JAY is cherished. It is meet that some broken accents, not less acceptable because broken, should rise from the sable ranks of untutored millions, as a testimonial to one who stood by us, and befriended us, in all the vicissitudes of our anomalous and forlorn condition. Of one thing we may feel assured: Whatever may be thought of our assembling here this evening, and whatever aversion it may excite here on the earth, that pure spirit which did not disdain us when in this world of pride and show, will from his celestial abode look down approvingly upon the humble offering we venture to bring to his memory. He who had respect for us among those who despised us; he who bound up our wounds, when the priest and the Levite had left us to die; he who lifted us up when the church and the State had wantonly and maliciously trodden upon us—will not reject the only offering a fettered and enslaved people have to bring. The principles of Mr JAY knew no selfish and partial limitations.—They reached to the very outer-most boundaries of the outcast, embracing in their broad beneficence, the poorest, the rudest, and most neglected of men, and he may therefore fitly be the object of marked and decided expression of loving remembrance on our part.

The liberal press of the country, to which he was an able, learned, and voluminous contributor, often anonymously, and as often over his own signature, has taken respectful, lengthy and gratifying notice of the death of WILLIAM JAY. The legal profession, represented by the bar of Westchester county, where he lived and presided—where he was most intimately known as a man and as a minister of justice—has recorded its unhesitating testimony to his eminent worth, as a man, and as an upright judge. Religion, to which he was an unblemished honor through all the years of his life, has dropped its tear upon his sacred grave.—Learning, not less than Law, has recognized with fitting tokens of bereavement the loss of one of its brightest ornaments. The cause of International Peace, to which Mr. JAY was deeply devoted, and for the promotion of which he labored with that skill, fidelity, and efficiency, which distinguished him in every department of reform that engaged his energies, has summoned the ancient prophet-like eloquence of GEORGE B. CHEEVER, to Boston, before the American Peace Society, of which Mr. JAY was long an honored President, to speak in memory of his good works in that department of Christian Philanthropy. Old personal friends, companions in the Christian reform, to which he was earnestly attached, and for which he wrought with the pious zeal of

a true Christian, have recorded in affectionate and most touching language, their sense of the beauty and excellence of his life and the great value of his friendship. The New York Historical Society, of which he was a member, describe him "accomplished as a scholar, eminent as a citizen, just as a Judge, candid and benevolent as a man, and sincere as a Christian," and esteems his name as among the most illustrious on its roll.

In this grateful procession, who can have a better right to join than we? In the great cause of universal freedom his name was a tower of strength, and his pen a two-edged sword. His mightiest works were wrought for us. Our freedom, our elevation were special objects of his regard. We have a right to cherish his memory as a precious legacy. We may bind it upon the altars of our heart's best affections, and offer it the ever increasing tribute of our respect and gratitude.

The name of WILLIAM JAY should hereafter be associated in our minds and hearts with the venerated names of WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, THOMAS CLARKSON, and GRANVILLE SHARPE, the most illustrious friends of our people, who now rest from their labors. It was given unto CLARKSON and WILBERFORCE to remain long enough on the earth, to see the ripening fruits of their devoted labors. They were permitted to see the triumph of the great principles and measures which they with almost matchless perseverance pressed home upon the hearts of the British nation. They lived long enough to behold their beloved Briton a free country, the safe asylum of the enslaved of all lands, and of all colors. They saw the dark stain of human bondage washed out, and the moral sentiment of their country so purified that a slave cannot breath in England; the whole policy of the British Government was changed in their very presence, and in direct and immediate response to their indefatigable exertions to bring about that very result. They saw the slaves emancipated.— Their living ears caught the first glad shouts and songs of eight hundred thousand souls redeemed from slavery in the West Indies.— Joyous anthems of freedom, sweeping across the wild waves, and rising above the thunders of the mighty deep, brought joy to the hearts of the noble and aged emancipators, ere they quitted the shores of time. They beheld, while yet in the flesh, the finger of God, writing their heavenly welcome upon discarded whips, severed chains and broken fetters—well done, good and faithful servants.

So, however, hath it not been with our great friend in America, whose character and labors, so beautifully resembles theirs. The toils of the seed time, but not the joys of the harvest, were his. He sowed in tears, but the golden sheaves of rejoicing have yet to be gathered into the garner of righteousness.— Nevertheless, it was his great privilege to see after a long course of severe labor, patiently and cheerfully performed, the great cause of emancipation rapidly rising to power and importance in this country fully justifying his best hopes for its ultimate success. The important truths which he brought forward and illustrated, and enforced, by utterance and by action, and with marked fidelity, although yet falling on unwilling ears, have certainly rallied in their defense, a mighty host, whose advancing footsteps already rock the continent and fill the halls of American tyrants with

alarm and terror, and the huts of the slave with joy and hope.

Though Mr. JAY saw with grief, as his pure spirit passed away from us, the slave still toiling in hateful chains, and the slave power madly intent upon the endless perpetuation of slavery, he evidently took with him to his blissful abode, the happy assurance that he had not labored for the honor of his country and the freedom of the slave in vain. Like another great Liberator, who was not permitted to see the full realization of his hopes, he endured as seeing him who is invisible! He died just as he had dared to live, a true man, and an honest Abolitionist. To the very last he remembered the American bondman as bound with him.

Happy and glorious is the lot of that man, when standing on the verge of the grave, winding up his affairs in this life, surveying the whole course of his career on the earth, who can truthfully say, in full view of the past, and the great incoming future, I have no regrets for the uses to which I have put my time and talents.

I well remember, and shall never forget, the impression made upon my mind, by the declaration made to me on this point, by the good and great THOMAS CLARKSON. Standing face to face with me, in his study at Playford Hall, erect, calm, and collected in the 87th year of his age, his long flowing silvery locks falling upon his shoulders, assured by his advanced age, and his gathering infirmities, that he was fast verging towards the tomb; he said, while holding, my right hand firmly in his, "Go on, go on, in the good work, Mr. DOUGLASS; I have given 67 years of my life to the Abolition cause, and if I had 67 more, they should all be sacredly given to the same cause!" Mr. JAY has given proof of the same satisfaction with his anti-slavery life. He was as certain of the ultimate triumph of emancipation as he was of its righteousness, and he committed himself to its whole course without reserve and without qualification.

His last *will and testament* contains a lesson to our country and the world on this subject. That sacred document exposes anew the futility and the blasphemy of attempting to control and overawe a good man's conscience by the force and authority of inhuman and wicked laws.

Mr. JAY's example at this point stands alone, I think, in the history of American philanthropy. No American Christian or Abolitionist has left a better testimony for the truth, or a nobler defiance of wrong. You have heard of bequests to popular institutions, to churches, colleges, tract societies, missionary societies, and even to piles of stone in honor of the successful man-slayer, but never, I think, such a bequest as the following: "I bequeath to my son *one thousand dollars* to be applied by him at his discretion in promoting the safety and comfort of fugitive slaves." Here is not only a thoughtful concern for the most needy of all the poor of this land, but a burning protest and a sublime prophecy. It is a cutting rebuke to the present, and an appeal to the future by a righteous man looking steadfastly into the immeasurable continents of eternity, and winding up his affairs for his long journey, and unending home with God.

However those who maintain the divine right of Christian white men to hunt down and to hate the black man in slavery, may affect to

regard this defiance of the fugitive slave statute, in the glorious coming future—when Doctors of Divinity shall find a better use for the Bible than in using it to prop up slavery, and a better employment for their time and talents than in finding analogies between Paul's Epistle to Philemon and the slave-catching bill of MILLARD FILMORE, this act of Christian charity on the part of Mr. JAY, will be regarded as the crowning act, the most glorious climax to a great and benevolent life.

My friends, I can attempt here no general and detailed account of the life and the services of WILLIAM JAY. Only a few of the leading facts of his ample history can be properly noticed and compressed into the narrow limits suited to the present discourse, and to this occasion. The relation of Mr. JAY to any one of the good causes, to which he gave his sympathy and his earnest co-operation, if minutely and faithfully examined, would fill a volume. We can scarcely hope to bring him before you in more than one of these relations. His connection with the great cause of human freedom, is the most prominent, as it is the most significant and important feature of his life. It is the feature of the life and history of Mr. JAY which will longest keep his memory fresh and green, at home and abroad.

Mr. JAY was born in New York, on the 16th of June, 1789, and died at his home in Westchester County, on the 14th of October, 1858, having nearly filled up the scriptural measure of human life. He was the second son of JOHN JAY—a man whose name and fame stand worthily connected with GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The father of our deceased friend was one of the most eminent men of his day, and ranked with such as Hancock, Hamilton, Adams, Jefferson and Franklin—the most renowned of all the American patriots. The history of JOHN JAY is in fact the history of the American revolution, and of American independence; as, indeed, it is also the history of emancipation in this State. For the father, not less than the son, was an Abolitionist. Abolitionism seems hereditary in the family—from father to son, and grand son. In the darkest hours, and the deepest perils, which surrounded the American cause, and they were far more numerous and direful, than many at this day suppose, JOHN JAY never wavered, JOHN JAY never doubted. It is, indeed, hard to say, in view of the slender margin between success and failure in that great undertaking, how the revolution would have ended, whether independence itself would have been achieved had it lacked the support of JOHN JAY. Certain it is, that to his devotion, vigor, sagacity, address, unflagging industry and determination, the American people are to-day largely indebted for their freedom and independence. He served his country as few had the ability to serve it. His singular purity of character shed light and gave strength to the revolutionary cause.

At home and abroad, by his talents, by his learning, by his voice and by his pen, in council, in the field; as a member of Congress, as a foreign minister, as Chief Justice of the United States, both before and after the revolution, JOHN JAY won for himself a high place among the patriots of the revolution.

WILLIAM JAY was fortunate in being the

son of such a father. A man so faithful to the impulses of true liberty, animated by the loftiest patriotism, was just the man to be scrupulously concerned for the proper education of his children; for love of family and love of country go hand in hand together. Ambition may, indeed, sometimes mask itself in the attractive forms of patriotism—but the genuine sentiment springs up in its fullness and purity only at the fire-side.

When but eleven years old WILLIAM JAY was placed at Albany under the charge of Rev. Mr. ELLISON, an Oxford scholar noted for his strict discipline, and devotion to the classics. Here he, no doubt, acquired that habit of order and regularity of proceeding, for which he was ever afterwards remarkable, and to which, in part, may be ascribed the facility with which he accomplished any and every work undertaken by him.

Yale College, an institution already loaded down with honors, has the great honor of completing the education of Mr. JAY. He entered Yale in 1804, and took his degree in 1807, having ranked throughout the course among the severest students.

Turning his attention to the law—of which in after life, he became an able exponent of its highest attributes in its application to human rights—he was again placed at Albany, in the office of JOHN B. HENRY, an eminent lawyer, in that city of eminent lawyers.

Here Mr. JAY took the degree of Counsellor, but owing to failing health he abandoned the practice of the profession, and rejoined his father's family and assisted in the management of his estate at Bedford, which estate he inherited upon the death of his father, in 1829.

From this sacred old homestead, hallowed by glorious revolutionary memories—the scene of many an anxious consultation, in the troubled times that tried men's souls—the steady light of WILLIAM JAY'S clear intellect has streamed out over the country and the world, blessing all it has touched.

While in Mr. HENRY'S office, earnestly pursuing the study of the law, Mr. JAY wrote to his friend, and class mate Mr. HENRY P. STRONG, who was then studying for the ministry, a letter which gives us a key to his own character and history.

"The pursuit," writes Mr. JAY, "in which you are engaged, is the most important, and the most interesting that can occupy the attention of man.

"I have devoted myself to the law, to protect the weak from the power of the strong. To shield the poor from the oppression of the rich, is the part for which I am preparing myself. God grant that I may not labor in vain."

Here is a noble and generous purpose declared, and I undertake to say that it has been as nobly and generously performed.

Fortunate in his parentage, fortunate in his education, fortunate in the choice of his profession, fortunate in all his early surroundings, Mr. JAY was not less fortunate in his marriage. In any condition of life, marriage is a matter of great moment. Even in private life, it may be the tide taken at the flood that leads on to fortune, or it may lead on to wreck and ruin. But its power for good or for evil is increased in a ratio with the magnitude of a man's public sphere and duties.

Here it may be an exalted blessing, or a withering curse—it may bear us upward towards success, or cast us down to failure. In all his noble plans and purposes our departed

friend had the good fortune to be seconded by his excellent wife—in whose character were harmoniously blended, like his own, all the Christian virtues.

Subsequent to his marriage, which took place in 1812, Mr. JAY was appointed first Judge of the County of Westchester, and was continued upon the bench by successive Governors, of opposite and conflicting politics, through all the varied contests and changes of parties, until the year 1843. Speaking of Mr. JAY, as a judge, the *Historical Magazine* remarks, that his charges to grand juries, commanded attention from his clear exposition of the law, without the slightest concession to the popular current of the day, and with careful regard to constitutional rights, morality and justice. All who know anything of Judge JAY will assent to the justice of this encomium.

Mr. JAY never sought office. He belonged to other and better days of the Republic—when other and better tastes prevailed in respect to holding civil office. General JACKSON while President appointed him to an important Commissionership, but the office which had been unsought, was declined. Important Commissionerships are seldom declined in our day. With talents, learning, and ability, a man of his position and connections, with a different ambition might have risen to almost any station in the country, but he contented himself in his office of county Judge. In this office, which enabled him to be of immediate service to those of his fellow-citizens, who knew his character and uprightness best, he would have remained probably to the day of his death but for his anti-slavery sentiments and principles.

Having been successively commissioned by Governors TOMPKINS, CLINTON, MARCY and VAN BUREN, Mr. JAY was superseded by Governor BOUCK, who had been elected in the pro-slavery re-action which followed the retirement of Governor SEWARD from office. The removal of Judge JAY was notoriously in compliance with the demands of the pro-slavery press, urged on by the slave power of the nation. The circumstance at the time of its occurrence excited strong and decided disapproval in the county of Westchester. A letter addressed to Judge JAY by MINOTT MITCHELL of White Plains, a gentleman who then stood at the head of the bar, expressed the unqualified regret and indignation of the people.

On some accounts, Mr. JAY's removal from the judgeship is to be regarded as fortunate. He was left all the more leisure to devote to the different objects of Christian benevolence which had already largely occupied his thoughts and feelings. The world is all the better for his removal from the bench. It was meant for evil, but it worked for good, for he could have scarcely found time to write so much and so efficiently had he continued to perform the duties of his judicial office.

In religion Mr. JAY was a low church Episcopalian, and though a devoted and conscientious churchman, he was singularly free from that self-righteous bigotry which can see and appreciate nothing as good, that does not bear the image and superscription of a particular religious denomination. His estimate of the tenets of other Christian denominations was like the man, broad, catholic, philosophical and liberal.

In politics he was like his honored father, a Federalist of the old school. Subsequently

he acted with the Whig party, and finally with the free soil and Republican parties. Independent and honest, having no favors to ask of any party, his utterance of truth was never trammeled by his party connections. He was never prominent as a politician, and he was equally never of those who esteem themselves too righteous to take part in the government of their country.

The labors of Mr. JAY were very quietly performed. He was often found serving upon committees of religious, benevolent and scientific associations, giving them the great benefit of his presence, knowledge, experience and his wisdom; but he seldom appeared as a speaker before the public. While, however, he had no taste for the noise and ostentation of public assemblies, he did not despise those popular instrumentalities for flinging the great truths of liberty, virtue, and humanity among the people.

The very last time it was my privilege to see Judge JAY, was on one of those great public occasions four years ago. It was at that memorable meeting when CHARLES SUMNER, now suffering from assassin blows, (which may God heal,) was thrilling with his surpassing eloquence an audience of your most refined and cultivated citizens at Metropolitan Theatre. Judge JAY was there. He was there and on the platform. Among all the radiant faces, making up that grand and brilliant scene, there was not one which seemed more in sympathy with the great theme of the orator than his. It was a benediction to look upon that good man's face that night. I remember it as one of the most pleasing and imposing features of that great occasion.

But the crowded hall, the clash and glitter of public speech and debate were not the favorite surroundings of Judge JAY. He is not to be contemplated to the best advantage in that direction and amid such scenes. The slender frame and delicate health which led him to abandon the profession of the law, made him unsuited to the physical hardships and excitements incident to frequent attendance upon, and participation in the proceedings of public meetings.

The pen was the weapon of his choice, and the weapon of his power. His quiet study was the scene of his most efficient warfare with wrong. It was here that he met the dark legions of error, selfishness, sin, and moral death, as they sallied forth from the gloomy gates of hell and vanquished them—Slavery, intemperance, war, duelling, treachery, hypocrisy, wickedness in high places, in church and state, found in him a steady and uncompromising enemy, while nearly every good cause of his time received the aid of his countenance and co-operation. Mr. JAY's zeal and industry with his pen are proved by the great number and quality of his works. These are his perpetual eulogy. Letters, essays, pamphlets, books, newspaper articles on a variety of subjects, mostly of immediate and of practical importance, and all looking to the establishment of just principles for the well government of society, flowed from his pen in rapid succession, and prove him to have been a man of immense industry and abundant mental resources. In this respect, Mr. JAY appears to very great advantage. The world may have many pleasing and gratifying spectacles to present us. We meet in life many noble examples, worthy of our study and of our imitation; but a man

born to the inheritance of large wealth, able to draw around him all that the cultivated taste and the peculiar pride of riches can suggest as the luxuries and indulgences proper to opulence; relieved of the necessity of making any exertion to supply real or artificial wants; left wholly at leisure, having the option to work or play, to seek his own pleasure, or to do otherwise; such a man, thus favored, thus surrounded, and, *I may say, thus tempted*, all forgetful of himself, deaf to every selfish entreaty to ease and to idleness, deliberately choosing to devote himself to earnest, persevering, indefatigable labor, not to increase his own worldly gains, either in purse or in position, but with only the motive to add his mite to the welfare and happiness of his suffering fellow-men, is one of the most hopeful, gratifying and noble examples which in this selfish and ease-loving age and world, it is permitted mankind to behold. Precisely such an example has been given to the world in the life and in the works of WILLIAM JAY. Compared with such a life, how vastly inferior in all the elements of true greatness, are the lives of most men to whom the world has accorded fame and greatness. Such a man has conquered himself and is greater than him who has taken a city. Starting at the point where other men have usually ended their labors, he has gone forward and reached a point of excellence immeasurably beyond them. The man who makes great exertions to be rich, the man who will endure untold hardships and privations for the world's applause and honor, who seeks the bubble reputation in the cannon's mouth, may indeed be a great man; but how small is such a man, when measured by the example of one who, though born to the inheritance of wealth, of ease, of leisure, and of a name already illustrious, instead of reposing on what is already attained, devotes all that he has and is to a cause of mercy and benevolence, which he well knows must direct against him the bitter hostility of power, the scorn of pride, and the vindictive frown of public opinion. The men are few who can stand this test of greatness. How few of the rich and mighty men of the land have even yet earnestly identified themselves with the Abolition cause, and given it the benefit of their manful exertions.

Abolitionists have been called men of one idea, but if Judge JAY shall be embraced in this charge, it must be confessed, upon a survey of his life and his labors, that his one idea was immensely comprehensive and capable of manifold applications. Few men have taken a broader view of human life. Few men have better understood and better performed its various duties.

To Mr. JAY belongs the merit of not only studying many subjects, but also the merit of considering well whatever he considered at all. In 1826 he received a prize for an essay on the Sabbath viewed as a civil institution; the year after he received another for an essay on the Sabbath viewed as a divine institution. In 1830 he was honored with a medal from the Savannah (Georgia) Anti-Duelling Society, for another essay upon the nefarious custom of duelling. In 1833 he published two octavo volumes, of the life and writings of his father, Chief Justice JAY. These volumes are among the most readable and reliable of any that treat of the early political history of this country.

He was a friend to the Bible, Tract, Peace, Temperance, Sunday School, Sabbath, Missionary and Educational causes. He was President of the Westchester Bible Society, and a Vice President of the American Bible Society. His time, his money, and his talents were freely given in all these and other departments of benevolent effort. He was, however, by no means a worshipper of any particular organization or combination of men. He looked at such organizations in the broad, intense light of truth, and esteemed them simply as means to important ends. When any of them were guilty of substituting their dead forms for the living objects which bro't them into being, as most of them were, he never hesitated to withdraw his countenance from them, and to expose and rebuke them with all faithfulness. The American Bible Society, Tract Society, Sunday School Union, and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions have all been subject to his public censure. His chief controversy with all these popular bodies was either their culpable indifference to the wrongs of the slave, or their directly aiding and abetting those who hold the slave in bondage. These bodies were, and are lamentably open to rebuke, both for sins of omission and for sins of commission. They are yet on the side of the oppressor, and deaf to the cries of the slave. He loved the great objects for which these various associations were combined, but was unwilling to build up with one hand and tear down with the other; and to him nothing beneath the sky was more sacred than the rights of the American slave. He was unwilling to subordinate this cause to any other, and much more unwilling to sustain those who were using their influence and position to put down that hated cause.

Judge JAY wrote voluminously on the whole subject of slavery. I will name only a few of his publications: "Letter to the Hon. Theo. Frelinghuysen, respecting his declaration that he was not an Abolitionist, but an ardent friend of the Colonization Society"—"Examination of the Mosaic Laws of Servitude"—"Letter to the Committee chosen by the American Tract Society"—"Inquiry into the American Colonization and American Anti-Slavery Societies"—"A View of the Action of the Federal Government in behalf of Slavery"—"On the Condition of the Free People of Color in the United States"—"Address to the friends of Constitutional Liberty on the violation by the United States House of Representatives of the right of Petition"—"Introductory Remarks to the reproof of the American Church, contained in the recent history of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America, by the Bishop of Oxford"—"A letter to the Right Rev. L. Silliman, Ives, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of North Carolina"—"Address to the inhabitants of New Mexico and California on the omission by Congress to provide them with Territorial Governments, and on the social and political evils of Slavery"—"A letter to Hon. William Nelson, Member of Congress, on Mr. Clay's Compromise"—"A letter to Hon. Samuel A. Elliot, Representative in Congress, in reply to his apology for voting for the Fugitive Slave Bill"—"An address to the Anti-Slavery Christians of the United States, signed by a number of clergymen and others"—"Letter to the Rev. R. S. Cook, Corresponding Secretary of the American Tract Society"—"Letter to Lewis Tappan, Esq., Treasurer of the American Missionary Association."

Mr. JAY was remarkable for his great readiness. He wrote precisely at the right time.—No great occasion escaped him. He was ready for every emergency. Besides his public works, Mr. JAY wrote a great many private letters. He had a long list of correspondents. His anti-slavery relations alone gave him a great deal of this sort of occupation. His advice was constantly solicited by the leaders of the anti-slavery movement, and it was never withheld when it could be of service to the anti-slavery cause. Some idea can be formed of the extent of Judge JAY's anti-

slavery correspondence, by the list of those with whom he was in most frequent communication.*

To form any just estimate of the character of a reformer, and to comprehend the value of his services, it is important to notice whether he embraced the cause early or late, in the morning or at the eleventh hour, whether he bore the burden in the scorching heat of the noon-day sun, or came only in the refreshing cool of the evening, when the heaviest work was already done, and the space between labor and reward reduced to the smallest possible point. To this inquiry the history of Mr. JAY answers very satisfactorily. He was not behind the chiefest apostles of *immediate* emancipation. He, himself, was too noble to set up any claims as to priority in the assertion of the doctrines of modern Abolitionism. He never asked to be considered the originator of the anti-slavery movement; and yet impartial history will accord to WILLIAM JAY the credit of having affirmed all the leading principles of modern Abolitionism long before modern Abolitionism was recognized as a reformatory movement. There has been much said about "immediatism," as the peculiarity of the present movement, and when that principle was first applied to the abolition of slavery in this country. Some have attributed the doctrine to Mr. GARRISON, and insist upon denouncing as traitors all who deny this claim. The absurdity of this pretension on the one hand, and the folly and injustice of the denunciation on the other, have become equally apparent in looking at the letters and papers of WILLIAM JAY. Without for a moment wishing to call in question the eminent services which Wm. LLOYD GARRISON, rendered to the cause of abolition when organized a quarter of a century ago, it can be shown that the doctrine of *immediate* Abolitionism was affirmed by Wm. JAY before Mr. GARRISON was so much as heard of in the anti-slavery cause. In 1819, Mr. JAY wrote to Hon. ELIAS BOUDINOT, as follows:

"I have no doubt that the laws of God, and as a necessary and inevitable consequence, the true interests of our country, forbid the extension of slavery. If our country is ever to be redeemed from the curse of slavery, the present Congress must stand between the living and the dead, and stay the plague. Now is the accepted time, now is the day of salvation. If slavery once takes root on the other side of the Mississippi, it can never afterwards be exterminated, but will extend with the future western empire, poisoning the feelings of humanity, checking the growth of those principles of virtue and religion which constitute alike the security and happiness of civil society."

On the 22d of September, 1826, he wrote to Hon. Mr. MINER of the House of Representatives:

"Since I read the resolution introduced by you in relation to slavery in the District of Columbia, the subject has been scarcely absent from my mind, and the late imprisonment in Washington of a CITIZEN of this county. (Westchester county, N. Y.,) afforded an opportunity which I gladly embraced of obtaining an expression of public opinion. I do not entertain the slightest hope that our petition will be favorably received, nor the slightest apprehensions that the cause we espouse will not finally triumph. The history of the abolition of the slave trade teaches us the necessity of patient perse-

* And first among these may be named, Arthur and Lewis Tappan, Rev. S. S. Jocelyn, Rev. A. A. Phelps, Robert Voué of Philadelphia, E. Wright, Jr., Joshua Leavitt, Samuel J. May, Reuben Crandall, Hon. James G. Birney, Theodore Sedgwick, Beriah Green, Gerrit Smith, John Scoble of England, Lydia Maria Child, Miss Grimke of South Carolina, Wm. Goodell, G. Bailey, Jr., Rev. Dr. Morrison of England, Gov. R. W. Habersham of Georgia, W. W. Anderson, Esq., of Jamaica, W. L. Joseph Sturge Esq., of England, Hon. Jabez D. Hammond, Geo. W. Alexander of England, Hon. William Slade of Vermont, Hon. John Quincy Adams, Hon. Wm. H. Seward, Hon. S. P. Chase, Prof. C. D. Cleveland of Philadelphia, Thomas Clarkson of England, Sir W. Colebrook, Governor of New Brunswick, Hon. Charles Sumner, Chief Justice Hornblower of New Jersey, Hon. J. G. Palfrey, Hon. John P. Hale, besides more than a hundred others.

verance, and affords a pledge that perseverance will be ultimately crowned with success. We have nothing to fear, but much to hope from the violence and threats of our opponents. Apathy is the only obstacle we have reason to dread and to remove this obstacle it is necessary that the attention of the public should be constantly directed to the subject. Every discussion in Congress in relation to slavery, no matter how great may be the majority against us, advances our cause. We shall rise more powerful from every defeat."

On the 4th of November, 1826, he writes to Mr. THOMAS HALL:

"In consequence of a resolution passed at a public meeting in this county, (a meeting called through Mr. Jay's efforts in relation to the arrest and imprisonment at Washington of Gilbert Horton, a free black man of Westchester,) a petition will be forwarded to Congress for the **IMMEDIATE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.** It is not easy to calculate the vast importance of the object of this petition. The District, it is true, is small, and the number of slaves to be emancipated comparatively few; but the moral influence of the measure will be felt on every plantation, and in every Legislature in the several States. It is an act which is required by our national character, as well as by humanity and religion. Congress possesses an undoubted constitutional right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and it is in the power of the free States to carry the measure."

Thus we see the criminal character of slavery declared, the non-extension of slavery insisted upon, the negro recognized and called a citizen, and the immediate abolition of slavery demanded so early as 1819 and 1826, by WILLIAM JAY.

This was no sudden and temporary outburst of feeling against slavery by Mr. JAY. Writing to Mr. CHAS. MINER, Member of Congress from Pennsylvania, who had introduced a bill for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, he says:

"In our exertions to promote the welfare of our fellow men, we must, for our encouragement, recollect that we are not answerable for success. It is our duty to plant and water, while the conviction that it is God who gives the increase, ought to teach us both confidence and resignation."

Writing to Mr. MINER at another stage of the effort for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, Mr. JAY thus joyfully announces to his friend and co-worker, a position gained in the State of New York:

"My Dear Sir:—The mail this evening brings the news that resolutions instructing our Representatives in Congress to vote for the abolition of slavery in the District of the Columbia, have passed our Assembly by a vote of 57 to 39. In the fullness of my heart I thank God, and congratulate you on the result."

It is worthy of remark that Mr. JAY takes no credit to himself for the passage of these resolutions in the Legislature of the State of New York. The truth is, however, that his exertions in procuring petitions, and by correspondence with influential men, such as Hon. WALKER Tappan of the N. Y. Senate, and Wm. L. STONE of the New York *Commercial*, had greatly aided to bring about the result, upon which, with a full heart, he thanks God, and congratulates his friend and co-worker for the abolition of slavery.

Like many other good men, (GERRIT SMITH among the number,) Mr. JAY at one time was disposed to co-operate with the American Colonization Society, that old enemy of the colored people of the U. S. It has always worn two faces—one a face of humanity, and the other a face of hatred—one was for the South, and the other was for the North, so as to deceive, if possible, the very elect. Mr. JAY was among the first at the North to get his own eyes open, and to open the eyes of others, to the real character of this malign and mischievous scheme. He had regarded it, as many others had done, as a means of doing away with slavery—the removal of them to Africa as fast as they should be emancipated, supplying a motive for emancipation. When he found that in this he was mistaken, and that, instead of furnishing a motive for emancipation, it only increased the motive for slaveholding; that, instead of supplying an asylum

for the oppressed free colored people of this country, it promoted and encouraged their oppression, to get them to *consent* to leave the country—when, in a word, he found it to be an engine of wickedness, and not an instrument of mercy, he promptly exposed it as a hypocrite, a deceiver, and renounced it. As early as 1829, in answer to an invitation to assist a meeting of the Colonization Society, Mr. JAY wrote to Mr. STONE, saying :

"I confess, I entertain no hope that the efforts of the American Colonization Society will produce any direct and sensible diminution of the number of slaves in our country."

This early expression of a want of confidence in the American Colonization Society shows that Mr. JAY had not taken his views second hand, but had, for himself, thoroughly examined the claims of the Colonization scheme, and for himself had found it the stupendous sham which it was afterwards proved to be by the overwhelming facts and arguments bro't out three years afterwards in "*Garrison's Thoughts*" on African Colonization.

At this point of time, the American Colonization Society ranked among the most popular institutions of the country. It combined the support of all classes, anti-slavery men and pro-slavery men, and enjoyed a monopoly of the pulpits North and South. Monthly sermons were preached in its favor by the pastors, and collections were taken up to aid in sending the negroes out of the country.—The most distinguished divines and the most influential statesmen every where stood forth as its champions, regarding it as the ample and all-sufficient answer to all inquiries concerning slavery, and concerning the free colored people of the United States. Hence, to dissent from it, and worse still, to oppose and attack it, was to unstopp all the vials of concentrated wrath, and to bring down their malignant contents upon the naked heads of such offenders.

That all this had no terror for such a man as WILLIAM JAY, stands boldly out to his credit. He did not hesitate either to dissent from, to oppose or attack this popular Goliah. His "*Inquiry into the character and tendency of the American Colonization and American Anti-Slavery Societies*," is one of the most clear, searching and masterly publications now to be found upon the subject.

The next great work of Mr. JAY, was his view of the Federal Government. The facts and arguments brought forward in this work exerted an incalculable influence upon the public mind. It showed how completely the slaveholders had for years wielded the Federal Government to extend and strengthen slavery. It is a book of facts, and was a manual in the hands of anti-slavery agents all over the country, and is such still.

The subject of slavery is an exciting one.—Oppression is apt to make even a wise man mad. The bare relation of master and slave, unaccompanied with its grosser manifestations of ignorance, depravity, cruelty and blood shocks and stuns the mind by its enormity.—O'CONNELL used to say, that when he first heard the idea of property in man, it sounded to him as if some one were stamping upon the grave of his mother. The very thought chills the blood in the veins of the strong man, and stirs a fever in the blood of age. The heart becomes sick, and the spirit frantic with horror over its brutal atrocities and crimes. In writing upon a system of such boundless and startling enormity, where the wildest fancy is over-matched by the terrible reality, it is not easy to steer clear of exaggeration in individual cases. Some extravagance may indeed be looked for and excused in treating of such a subject, but such extravagance will be looked for in vain in the writings of Judge JAY on slavery.

As a writer, that can be said of him which can be said of but few reformatory writers in any age, he not only relied implicitly upon and believed in the simple undistorted truth as the safest and best means of accomplishing his benevolent purposes, but was never, to the knowledge of any, tempted or driven by eager anxiety for immediate results into distor-

tion or exaggeration. He had an earnest heart. It was always alive with the fires of justice and liberty; but with all, he possessed that accurate and well-balanced judgment which controlled and directed wisely and discreetly all his writings on the subject of slavery. No fact, no statement, of Judge JAY, how fiercely soever his opinions may have been combated, has ever been called in question.

His burning indignation which came down upon the pro-slavery wickedness of the nation like a mantle of unquenchable fire, was recognized as the natural product of his well-known love of justice. Those who contended with him, contended not against him, but against the truth, within which Mr. JAY was always fortified.

Some men rebuke sin with such manifest levity as only to amuse the sinner. Others denounce wrong as if exulting over the wrong doer, while others show their zeal for the truth by stretching it into falsehood and absurdity. All these will offend, disgust, and drive the wrong doer from the teacher or reformer.—He will say, your cause may be good, but you are not the man to advocate it. Mr. JAY's exemption from this sort of criticism did not arise out of any timidity either of character or manner; but it is to be traced to his scrupulous regard for truth, his entire and transparent honesty. When truth failed to produce conviction, he could bide his time without resorting to artifice. He ever scouted the doctrine of doing evil that good might come, and in the midst of all discouragements, it is ours to plant and to water, but it is God who giveth the increase.

I am not of that sentimental school of moralists who think it right to speak only of the virtues of the dead. The power exerted by some men after death is far greater than in life, and it frequently happens that to expose the faults of departed great men, is a much higher and more commanding duty than to extol their virtues. Wrong and injustice to the living are remarkably disposed to conceal themselves from the light of truth, under the overshadowing examples of the great among the dead.

Examples of this sort are abundant in all the ages, and our own among the number.—Thus, while JEFFERSON wrote that all men are created equal, and are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and while WASHINGTON fought for the principle which JEFFERSON wrote down, both JEFFERSON and WASHINGTON are to-day quoted in proof that colored people have no rights that white people are bound to respect. The fact that these great men were slaveholders, is triumphantly cited as sanctioning the idea of property in man.

Their anti-slavery declarations are less potent for good than their pro-slavery examples have been made for evil. From a careful survey of the life and works of Mr. JAY, no fear need be entertained that we will get the advantage over good by means of his memory. If he had faults, they were to his whole character like the spots on the resplendent orb of day, not to be seen by the ordinary means of vision.

As we walk under the light of this glorious orb, never thinking of any possible speck upon its surface, but thanking God for the brilliant illumination, so let us accept gratefully the shining example of the late Honorable WM. JAY. He has taught us the great purposes of life. He has taught us how to live; he has taught us how to die.

A NEW PLEA.—It has been stated that the four Oberlin rescuers who were let off with a slight fine and one day's imprisonment, pleaded guilty. This is not so. The following is the plea to which they each subscribed:

"The said indictment being again read to him, protesting that he is not guilty in manner and form, as is charged in said indictment, for plea says that he will not further contend with the said United States, with which plea the Attorney for the United States is content," whereupon, &c.

The cases not yet tried have been put over till July. Meantime the Oberlin men remain in jail.

IS AMERICAN EVANGELICAL RELIGION FRIENDLY TO FREEDOM?

Twenty years ago, JAMES G. BIRNEY, a repentant slaveholder, one who proved the genuineness of his repentance by emancipating his slaves, charged the American church and clergy with being the bulwark of American slavery. Since then, the charge has been a standing and ten thousand times repeated testimony against the religious organizations of the country. In every possible form of speech, and in all manner of protests, resolutions and remonstrances, the accusation has been reiterated, and as often and in as many forms perhaps the charge has been denied. It has always been more or less difficult to meet the crafty subtleties by which the force of the charge has been broken. It has been said, for instance, that in point of fact there is no such body as the "American church," and that whatever else might be the bulwark of slavery, the American church could not be; that the churches of the country are independent bodies; and that while some were undoubtedly pro-slavery, there are others which are anti-slavery; and that, therefore, it cannot be properly said that the American church is the bulwark of slavery, the main support of the slave system. Some churches have, like the Baptists, separated, *apparently*, in their missionary efforts to remove the damaging effect of this charge against their body, in common with others. A still more real separation has taken place in the Methodist Episcopal Church, by which a part of the slaveholding brethren have gone off, and have set up a real slaveholding body of Methodists for themselves, being wholly unwilling to compromise the right to steal men and serve God at the same time. More moderate men-stealers, however, remain in the Methodist Church North, and by so doing succeed pretty well in repressing the anti-slavery sentiments of northern members, and have generally carried the power (the Bishops) of the church with them.—Again it has been said, that being in the same church with slaveholders does not make individual members pro-slavery, nor is the church necessarily pro-slavery because it happens to have pro-slavery members in it.

Thus have the artful and cunning ones invented excuses and apologies to obscure and soften the tremendous and crushing accusation of blood and guilt brought against the American church and clergy—thus have they postponed and evaded the dreadful responsibility resting upon them—thus have they hoodwinked the simple, and baffled the intelligent among them, and are doing the same until this day. Men are everywhere bowing at the altars of religion in the country, fancying that the church represents in some good degree the love of Christ for dying men—that here at least there is truth, justice, and mercy, warm and full for God's suffering children, in a larger measure than can be found elsewhere. They can see that to fellowship with a UNITARIAN as a Christian, even though he be, as to his life, a most exact copy of the example of the son of God, is to endorse and sanction Unitarianism. They can see that a sheep-stealer does not give the requisite evidence of regeneration and union with Christ, but they cannot see that the man-stealer is other than a standing type and representative of the Lord Jesus Christ. We have pressed them with arguments, drawn from nature, drawn from the

Bible, drawn from example and experience; but they sing on, pray on, and preach on, as heedless of our every appeal, as if the millions for whom we plead were so many horses, sheep or swine. Perhaps, there will never be presented a fairer index of the real sentiment of the American church on the subject of American slavery, than that which is afforded in the proceedings of the American Tract Society, at its recent anniversary in the city of New York. That society stands before the world as a prominent representative of the evangelical religion of the United States. It may be said to represent that religion in its most God-like feature—*i. e.*, LOVE. It is the great teacher of Christian morality. Its mission is to carry the light of the Gospel to the poor, to the wretched, to those who sit in darkness. It lives to reflect the loving kindness of Jesus Christ towards the helpless and woesmitten children of men. It may, therefore, be regarded as representing and embodying the average amount of Christian benevolence and Christian morality of the American church and clergy.

The character of its proceedings, and the behavior of its ruling members, are both instructive as to the real influence which the religion of this *country* exerts over the minds and hearts of men. We say of this *country*, for although the American churches profess the Christian religion, and that religion professes to be the same in all countries, it is still obvious that American religion has a peculiar American twist in it. Certain it is, that those who profess it, and have the care of its preservation and propagation committed to them, have stamped it with a special American character. American politics are not more American than American religion is American. Indeed, a man who is in harmony with the prevailing politics of this country, has but little need to put himself in harmony with his country's religion, unless he wishes to add sanctimonious hypocrisy to sin, and clothe some high transgression of justice and humanity with the stainless raiment of Christianity. Thus far the American Government has not been able in all its transcendent iniquity, to perpetrate any crime which American religion has been unable to support and encourage.—The Government may drench the earth with the blood of slaughtered Indians, rob a sister nation of her territory, send armed pirates to steal an island from Spain, or to rob Africa of her children, and the Government will not fail of the cordial and prompt support of the church. There may be local exceptions to this statement, but this is certainly the general rule, and the just rule from which we are to draw inferences in determining the precise character and worth of the thing, or the *no*-thing called American religion. It is the most accommodating thing in the world. It bows and cringes to pride and power with readiness and pliability, and follows the corrupt politics of the country and the times precisely as the shadow will follow the most loathesome substance. He who knows what the prevailing public political opinion is in respect to any given subject, need not ask the American church for its opinion. He has it already, and he who wants to know what is the practice of the church has only to ask; what is the practice of the Government.

Now, what were the proceedings of this great evangelical Tract Society? It is really hard to characterize them without employing

language one might hesitate to use in reference to the proceedings of a company of political gamblers, shoulder hitters, and bruisers, as destitute of decency as they are of principle. The actors in the scene presented at this meeting showed themselves to be skilled in all the tricks and brutality of a noisy and demoniacal mob, assembled to carry a point at any and every disgraceful hazard. No man could look upon the fraud and trickery indulged in by the majority on that occasion with any respect for the manliness, to say nothing of the Christianity of majority. They had met to bolster up tyranny, and their conduct was in keeping with their purpose. A ward meeting for the election of delegates to attend a political convention, made up of the sag ends of society, could have shown scarcely more contempt for the right of speech, and the feelings of the minority, than was shown here; the gag was freely and promptly applied, and as promptly sustained; the rulings of the Chairman were partial, petty, and manifestly dishonest and cowardly. Those who wanted to speak for slavery were permitted to do so.—Those who wished to speak for freedom, were hissed and hooted down with as little consideration for their rights, as members of the Tract Society, as if they had been a band of out-siders, who had thrust themselves upon a meeting of which they were not members.—They were treated as intruders, disturbers, not only as having no right to be there, but as persons entitled to no respect anywhere. It was a scene to give joy to the hearts of every hater of religion, and to sadden any who have any regard for Christianity or decency.

It is quite noteworthy and instructive that the little anti-slavery that flickered dimly in this meeting of evangelical saints, was of the faintest and most contemptible description.—There was no heart in it—no honesty in it.—It was not to get the slave out of slavery, but to get the American Tract Society out of an awkward position. Doctor SPRING's resolution, which will be referred to as a step in the right direction, and will be quoted in proof of the anti-slavery character of the American Tract Society, was simply a measure to save the Society, and was so declared at the time. It was not to place the Society in harmony with the stern requirements of the truth of God, but to swing the Society in line with the average morality of the world. Doctor SPRING, who gets the credit of the resolution in reference to the slave-trade, showed that he did not care a straw as to the abolition of the foreign or any other slave-trade. He regretted the introduction of the resolution against the slave-trade; but since it had been introduced, he thought it best for the Society that it be adopted. The salvation of the Society (how to enrich it, to increase its funds, and make it popular) is the chief concern with its members.

The professed anti-slavery members of this Association were even in a more helpless and hopeless minority this year than last. Last year the *Independent* excused the Society on the ground that the meeting misrepresented the sentiment of the Society. It insisted that the meeting was a packed one, and that the anti-slavery members had not had the advantage of preparation for the conflict; that the meeting was a meeting of Wall Street merchants, governed by motives of interest; that religion was not to be blamed for the conduct of these worldly minded men.

Well, what will it say now? The anti-slavery members had ample time to prepare for the conflict. They have had a full year for a preparation. Why were they then so far beaten, so snubbed by the "management" this year? They of the *Independent* have got an answer. Last year it was the merchants—this year it was the lawyers—and next year it will be something else; but the real and true cause for the defeat of all anti-slavery measures in that body, is to be found in the fact that the American evangelical church cares nothing whatever for the freedom of the slave.—They are in league with tyrants, and belong with the smooth-faced hypocrites who murdered the son of God. They are the successors of the scribes, Pharisees, lawyers, and doctors, who devour widows' houses, and for a pretense make long prayers.

A few more such meetings as this last of the American Tract Society will largely tend to open the eyes of men to the inherent worthlessness of American evangelical piety. It will lead men to ask of what use to this sin and slavery-cursed world is a religion which has no bolt for the head of the tyrant, and equally no tear of pity for the bleeding wounds of the slave. For our part, with the marks of the slave-driver's lash still upon us, and knowledge of the devilish character of slavery burnt into us, we spit in the face of that piety which, while professing to save our soul from hell, would not move a finger to save our body from stripes.

THE MEETING ON THURSDAY EVENING IN SHILOH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.

This was peculiarly, though not exclusively a meeting of colored citizens. White persons were present, and were interested in its proceedings; but the proposal to hold it, and the preliminary work for holding it, belong alone to the colored citizens of New York.—They thought it well to give some public expression of their sense of the worth of their departed friend, WILLIAM JAY, and selected FREDERICK DOUGLASS to give form and utterance to the thoughts and sentiments felt in common among them. The proceedings on the occasion were dignified, simple, and every way suited to the character of the occasion.—Dr. JAMES McCUNE SMITH, Professor CHAS. REASON, JOHN PETERSON, Esq., who were appointed at a previous meeting to make arrangements, selected Rev. H. H. GARNET to preside, and it would have been hard to have made a wiser selection. In what FREDERICK DOUGLASS has had to say of the life and labors of Judge JAY, he wishes to be understood as speaking for his people as well as for himself. The address owes its chief significance to this fact.

Mr. C. L. Remond, a well-known Anti-Slavery lecturer, and a man rather remarkable for extreme neatness in dress and unobtrusive manners, came on to the Boston and New-Haven Road from Boston on Monday, riding without question or comment where other people do who pay for a ticket. But no sooner did he step into a Fourth avenue car at Twenty Seventh street, to come down town, than he was turned out of his seat by the conductor, and compelled to stand upon the platform outside.—Mr. Remond, though a well-educated and well-bred man, is of that class which has no rights which "our fellow-citizens from the South of Ireland" are bound to respect.

"VITAL GODLINESS AND SOUND MORALITY."

Actions not only speak louder than words, but, very properly, limit, define and interpret the meaning attached to words by those who use them. They not only make us acquainted with the precise sense in which such words are to be received, but have the additional advantage of assuring us of the sense in which they are *not* to be received. Words are often used (as WALPOLE or somebody else has it) to conceal thoughts. Actions are not so liable to this profane perversion. Words are signs; actions are the things signified, the translation of thoughts into facts, the mind pictures into living forms.

Hereby we may understand precisely what the evangelical churches of our country mean by the oft-repeated words employed at the head of this article. They stand as the great object which the American Tract Society, the embodiment of American evangelical piety, was conceived, planned, purposed and organized to promote. "*Vital godliness and sound morality*" are the two leading elements, making the sum of the gospel, which the American Tract Society professes to proclaim to a world perishing in wickedness. It becomes us, therefore, to look into this gospel, and find out if we can, not only what may be the meaning of which it is capable, but the meaning attached to it by those who profess to have this gospel committed to them.

The American Tract Society is no insignificant body—no trifling organization. Its power for good or for evil is tremendous. Holiness to the Lord is written upon its walls, and justice and purity are said to be its habitation. Its preachers are counted by thousands, its income by hundreds of thousands, its friends by millions, and may be said to have a nation for its congregation, and a thousand presses for its preachers. The power of such a system of propagandism cannot well be overestimated.

Let us see, then, what its gospel is, and whether it is such as all men ought to approve and receive. We were somewhat sweeping in our mode of dealing with this body last week. We shall aim to be more critical, exact and logical in what we have to say in our present article.

"*Vital godliness and sound morality*" are high sounding words, and express important ideas. Not cold, abstract ideas, existing outside of humanity, having no relation to or connection with it, but in it, of it, with it, and through it, and incapable of existing apart from this human actuality. Mark the phrase—"vital godliness." It is not dead "*godliness*"—not godliness from which life has departed—but living "*godliness*"—godliness animated, quickened, warmed, and warming, full of life, and full of life-power, possessing a living, coursing blood, and a beating heart, thrilled with divine affections and holy aspirations, in close communion with, and drawing its subsistence from the great heart of God, the source and centre of all pure thought, light, and feeling. This is "*vital godliness*." It is active *loving* God, and sharing his divine perfections—having in us the mind of God, and reflecting his loving image in our whole life and conversation. So much the written words would imply—so much we should expect to find insisted upon in the name of "*vital godliness*." All this is im-

plied in this first element in the object of this great religious corporation.

What is the second element? Its constitution says, "*sound morality*." "*Vital godliness and sound morality*" taken together are the sum and substance, the very marrow of the existence of the Society. Strike out these, and it might be a railroad company without a railroad, or a steamboat company without boats, or the prospect of any. It would be a tree without sap, a body without a soul. But "*sound morality*"—what of that? what kind of morality is that? Plainly, upon its face, it does not mean mere common "*morality*."—That may be one thing to-day, and another thing to-morrow. It may be a system of worldliness, false, corrupt, wicked and pernicious, as all wickedness is under whatever name or guise it comes, and whatever name or language it may speak. Such morality may be a mere convenience, a custom, an outgrowth of ignorance and of barbarism, the minister of pride and selfishness, made as laws are said to be, strong enough to punish the weak transgressor, but too weak to punish the strong.—Very evidently, this is not the morality which the written words "*sound morality*" imply.—Sound morality stands opposed to such morality as that now described. It comes to abolish and put away such a morality. It is itself "*sound*," genuine, stainless morality—not rotten, alloyed, blotted, perverted and twisted morality. Its principle is *justice*, its application *love*, and its end *happiness*. It does not cater to the sins of the rich, nor slight and neglect the rights of the poor, but with even hand it provides for the well-being of all. Such is sound morality, and such is the literal reading of the object of the American Tract Society. To promote this grand object, the glory of God and the good of man, it asks the support and sympathy of all evangelical Christians in this country, and everywhere. This, we say, is the American Tract Society on paper, and according to the plain meaning of words. Would that this were the only meaning! But as we have said, all these things have two meanings—a real and a seeming and theoretical one—a real and practical one. The one may be found in the paper, and the other may be found in the practice under the paper. If words are things, things are words, the solid and just expression of words.

"*Vital godliness!*" We have seen what this phrase means when read upon clean white paper—how that it implies, living, active holiness, from which all base, mean and malignant affections are excluded, and in which, like a crystal river of goodness, making glad the city of God, all pure and heavenly qualities bear sway. This is what it means standing alone. But what it means in the mind of the American Tract Society is quite another thing; and this other thing is to be known and understood by looking into the relations of that Society to American slavery.

This slave system has existed here more than two hundred years. The American Tract Society is only thirty-five years old, and of course found slavery here when it came, and has lived with it side by side ever since. There has thus far been no quarrel between them. Their relations have been altogether peaceful, harmonious, kind and brotherly, and they have reciprocated each other's kind offices to a remarkable degree.

The system of slavery has its own religion, as well as its own politics and manners. Stealing a man, degrading him from the dignity of manhood to a level with the brute, working him without wages, laying stripes on his back when he refuses to work on such conditions, hunting him down with dogs, when he runs away from those who rob him, shooting him down when he refuses to be taken, separating him from his family, selling his children, putting asunder those whom God has joined together, abolishing marriage, keeping him in ignorance, forbidding his learning to read the Bible—these, and a thousand other things, are not at all deemed inconsistent with "*vital godliness and sound morality*." A man in the Southern States could not well be expelled from any Southern evangelical church for either or all of the inhuman practices specified. They are all in harmony with "*vital godliness and sound morality*," as they are understood and received among our evangelical religionists of the South. Men there, make their religion accord with their interests, or their supposed interests. Their God is a God after their own pattern. To their conception, He is a wealthy, slaveholding planter; and they, the little planters, consider themselves as the express images of their great parent slaveholder. The Bible, they tell us, sanctions slavery; that the God of the Bible ordained it; and that an ordination of God cannot be a sin. Such is the "*vital godliness and the sound morality*" of the slaveholding Christians of our country, in the year of grace one thousand eight hundred and fifty-nine.

Of course, any kind of "*godliness and morality*" which the American Tract Society refuses to condemn, any kind which it defends, and condemns others for attacking, defines the kind of "*vital godliness and sound morality*" which that Society aims to promote. It does not serve two masters. It cannot serve two masters. If it says one thing and does another, the thing which it does is to be taken as the measure of the meaning of what it says.

Now, the American Tract Society has notoriously refused to bear any testimony against American slavery. It has done more and worse than this: It has published works which originally contained anti-slavery sentiments, with such anti-slavery sentiments carefully left out. It has published and circulated matter assuming the innocence of the relation of master and slaves. It has elevated to its official board a notorious advocate and defender of slavery and the slave trade. It has made the will of slaveholders, slave-traders and evangelical women-floggers, the law of the American Tract Society, insulted, gagged and silenced all members of it, who refused to bow to the system of blood—and then it turns round and asks for money, with which to promote "*vital godliness and sound morality*."

Now, all the arts, sophistries, dodges, and subterfuges, respecting the powers of the Publishing Committee, the want of power in the Society, the veto which each member has upon any proposed publication, the publishing only such matter as is calculated to receive the approbation of all evangelical Christians, the nature of the constitution of the Society, the inability of the Society to instruct the Publishing Committee, whether the Society or the officers of the Society are superior—all this, and all else, amounts to nothing as to the question, the great question, whether evangelical

religion, "vital godliness and sound morality," as held by the American Tract Society, as a responsible organization, is on the side of freedom or on the side of slavery.—Against every pretence, the fact stands out in striking colors—that side by side with this evangelical religion, side by side with this "vital godliness, and sound morality," the system of slavery has lived, and does now live, so far as the American Tract Society is concerned, in a peace as undisturbed as the waters along the bottom of the ocean. Everybody knows that if the American Tract Society was earnestly opposed to slavery, that it would let down fiery sheets upon that hell-black crime, as upon others, and that a war of extermination would be waged between them.

That such a war does not take place, has not taken place, and is not likely to take place, is proof that the "vital godliness and sound morality" of the American Tract Society is "vital" devilishness, and springs from the same source with slavery, and every other abomination with which it is on terms of peace and concord.

HENRY WARD BEECHER ON THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

By all odds, the heaviest broadside poured out against slavery, during the Anniversary Week in the city of New York, was the speech delivered by H. WARD BEECHER before the Boston Tract Society. Nothing which has been said on the subject of slavery, by this son of genius, has the fullness and power of this speech. It fairly riddles and tears to pieces the finely woven sophistries, subterfuges and falsehoods by which the American Tract Society has sought to hide its treachery and hypocrisy, in shunning to declare the whole counsel of God against American slavery, and thereby to retain the friendship and the blood-stained gold of the dealers in the bodies and the souls of men. If the religious conscience of the country were not dead, apparently beyond the reach of the resurrection trump, it would seem that this speech of Mr. BEECHER might be expected to rouse it to life and activity. In point of hopefulness, boldness, stringency, fidelity, comprehensiveness, and adaptation to the wants of the anti-slavery cause at this particular time, we see not how this effort can be improved upon, even by the veterans who have given their whole powers to the cause of the slave these thirty years. It is emphatically a speech for the times, and will, if any speech can, infuse new life into the anti-slavery forces of the country.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

IN AID OF PAPER.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----|
| Liverpool Anti-Slavery Society..... | £10 |
| Berwick-on-Tweed do | 4 |
| Sheffield do | 4 |
| Derby do | 2 |
| Chelmsford do | 1 |
| Subscriptions | 1 |

IN AID OF FUGITIVES.

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Chelmsford A. S. Society..... | 5 |
| Sheffield do do | 8 |

The Treasurer of the Rochester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society would acknowledge from Mrs. J. G. CROFTS, our tried friend, to aid fugitives, the following sums:

| | |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| Derby Anti-Slavery Association | £5 |
| Berwick do do | 4 |
| Chelmsford do do | 1 |

MARIA G. PORTER, *Treas.*

ROCHESTER, May 30, 1859.

GLASGOW NEW ASSOCIATION FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

The Eighth Annual Meeting of the Glasgow (Scotland) New Association for the Abolition of Slavery was held in the Wesleyan Chapel, John Street, on Tuesday evening, March 22nd, 1859.

The Meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. J. Edwards, of Ottawa, Canada.

David Smith, Esq., Vice-President of the Association, occupied the Chair.

After the Chairman's address, the Report was read by Mr. Gow, the Secretary. It was moved by Rev. John Edmond, and seconded by Rev. Alexander Wallace, that this Report be printed and circulated under the direction of the Committee.

The following Resolutions were then moved and adopted:

I.—Moved by the Rev. Dr. Robson, and seconded by Rev. John Edwards:

"That this Association views with deep regret the Scheme of Immigration passed by the Legislative Assembly of Jamaica, and cannot but regard it as unjust alike to the immigrants, and to the colored population of the island—inasmuch as:—Firstly. It will be found impossible to obtain immigrants otherwise than by purchase or deception; they will not be allowed to choose their own masters, the kind of labor they shall engage in, the localities they shall inhabit, nor will they have any voice in fixing the rate of wages, nor be able to leave the Colony at their option; the scheme thus reviving many of the evils of Slavery under another name. Secondly. The introduction of the proposed class of laborers will to a great extent, deprive those at present in the Colony of the means they have of supporting themselves and their families, there being ample evidence to prove that there is no general want of labor for the cultivation of the soil.—Thirdly. By operating so as to decrease the present inadequate rate of wages, the measure will provoke hostile feelings among the peasantry of the Island, and imperil the peace and order of the Colony. Fourthly. The introduction of a class of heathen foreigners, with their wickedness and superstitions, will act most injuriously upon the inhabitants of Jamaica, and very much retard the operations now being carried on for their religious and moral improvement. And this meeting hereby resolves, that a Memorial embodying this Resolution shall be drawn up, signed by the Chairman of the meeting, and forwarded for presentation of Her Most Gracious Majesty, praying Her to withhold Her Royal assent from this measure of the Legislative Assembly of Jamaica."

II.—Moved by Rev. Dr. Lorimer, and seconded by Rev. Mr. Mitchell, of Toronto, Canada:

"That this Association has seen with both surprise and sorrow the action of the American Tract Society, in rescinding the resolution of 1857, (in which it was agreed to suppress no part of Bible Truth on the duties of masters and servants,) because of the threats of the South to abandon the Society, in the event of its carrying out the requirements of the Great Master to 'keep back nothing of all that the Lord their God had declared'; and this Association considering this retrograde movement, feels compelled to declare entire want of confidence in a Society which openly repudiates the law of that God whose truth it was established to promote."

III.—Moved by Rev. Mr. Troy, of Windsor, Canada, and seconded by Mr. C. J. Russell, Medical Student:

"That this Association views with deep abhorrence the attempt at present being made in North Carolina and other States, to expatriate or re-enslave, the free colored people of those States, and urgently entreats the friends of freedom, both in this country and America, to lift up their united voice against this iniquitous measure, and if possible, prevent its being confirmed by their Legislative Assem-

bly. The following outline of the proposed enactment will show the extent of its malignity. A Bill has already been introduced before the Legislature of North Carolina, and provides that any free person of color coming into the State of North Carolina, shall either give a bond for 1000 dollars with approved security, for his immediate removal; or be committed to the public jail, with an order to the Sheriff to expose him for sale to the highest bidder for a period of one year; and that if the required bond be not forthcoming at the expiration of that period, he shall be again sold as a slave for the term of his natural life; the proceeds of said sales being appropriated to the benefit of the common schools of the county. It is also further provided, that all free colored persons at present in the State, shall be allowed two years in which to effect their removal, and that failing to do this, they shall be subjected to the same conditions as those who come into the State."

ANOTHER JUST MAN GONE.

By a letter from our esteemed friend, LEWIS TAPPAN, Esq., with whom the deceased was in constant correspondence until very recently, we learn, with painful emotion, that JOSEPH STURGE has ceased from the earth. The name of JOSEPH STURGE, of Birmingham, is known to the uttermost borders of Christian philanthropy, and the announcement of his death will be received with heartfelt sadness by all unto whom he was known. He was a genuine friend to humanity, of all colors and of all conditions in life, but especially to those in bonds. For these he was zealous, uncompromising and indefatigable. He carried his anti-slavery to the point even of refusing to use slave produce, and of earnestly exhorting all others to follow his example in bearing this testimony against oppression. He was one of the most unassuming and amiable men with whom we ever met, and thoroughly conscientious. A brief account of the life and philanthropic labors of Mr. STURGE is copied into our paper from the N. Y. Tribune.

SLAVE-HUNTERS IN NEW YORK.—Kidnapers are becoming quite impudent since the high-handed proceedings in Cleveland, Ohio, by which thirty respectable citizens have been treated as felons for resisting the Fugitive Slave Bill. Last week, they made their appearance in Wellsville, New York, and were about to pounce upon their victim, but were a little too late—the man having been safely placed in our hands before the scoundrels could learn his whereabouts. He is now safely in Canada. It is well for all hands, slave-hunters and the slave, that he was not overtaken in Rochester, for the fugitive was fully armed, and we believe possessed the nerve and the arm to use them with desperate energy and effect. There must be one or more Christian affairs before slave-hunting will be abandoned. The sooner the better, we say.

The Lewiston (Maine) Journal thus notices the arrival of a fugitive slave in that city:—"A fugitive from slavery appeared in our midst on Saturday, having been so unwise as to leave the blessed Christian influences of the 'peculiar institution' about fifteen days since. After an investigation of his case, resulting in entire satisfaction as to the truth of his story, he was kindly cared for by a large number of our most prominent citizens—the threatened penalties of the Fugitive Slave Law notwithstanding—furnished with the needful, and on Monday dispatched to Canada and freedom."

Dr. Bailey of the National Era left for Europe in the Arago last Saturday.

LETTERS FROM THE OLD WORLD.

NUMBER LXV.

RUE BALZAC, PARIS, March 29, 1859.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—Once again I find myself in this gay and brilliant metropolis of "la Belle France;" no longer breathing fog and smoke, and looking on cold, grey skies, but inhaling a pure, clear atmosphere, basking in bright sunshine, and feeling (as I have invariably done, when I have crossed the channel, and quitted, for a brief season, our dear, little, misty, cloudy island for the continent) as if Mount Atlas had been removed from my shoulders. Some one has, some where, said, that an Englishman, when *at home*, is always grumbling about his climate, and, when abroad, at every thing else. This is a libel; yet, perchance, a slight vein of truth runs through the first part of the assertion, for with the comfort of some of us, *climate* has a good deal to do; and I am prepared to maintain that it's a *somewhat* difficult matter for any Englishman, (or English woman,) who has been victimized by influenza through an English winter, for weeks together, upon leaden skies, a murky atmosphere, and miry streets, commiserating the *sun* for his unsuccessful attempts to shine, as much as he commiserates himself for being confined a prisoner in doors, by the weather, to keep up his thorough nationality, or to repeat, (when February has come,) *eon amore*, Cowper's well-known lines, commencing, "England! with all thy faults, I love thee!" Be this as it may, it is very pleasant to look again on "les Champs Elysees," and to see the beautiful foliage of early spring, opening out beneath azure skies, and in the light of unclouded sunshine. There is an indescribable and irresistible fascination in Paris, to be found, I am inclined to believe, in few other cities. Munich (when I explored its rich art-treasures, some years since) seemed to me a city of the *present*; Nuremberg, with its tall, green, quaint houses, with gable ends, and old fashioned roofs—its winding, grass-grown streets—its almost innumerable reminiscences of *Albert Durer* and *Adam Krafft*—its mysterious cemetery, full of weird-looking, ancient, bronze monuments—carried me so entirely back to past ages, that I found it difficult to realize that I looked on *real, live* men and women walking in the streets, and not on the ghosts of those who lived in other days! Nuremberg is a city of the *past*. Paris is both of the past and the present. It has its own peculiar charm.

Now, we stand on the *Pont de Jena*, look down into the *Seine*, and back into its past, thinking of some of the terrible scenes of other days, witnessed by this rapidly flowing river. On, on, it gushes, unchanged by the agonizing death, and troubled life so often found by its side. It heard the fatal signal given from the belfry of *St. Germain l'Auxerrois*, on the Eve of *St. Bartholomew*, and received into its rushing waters many poor victims of that dread massacre; it has probably witnessed more terrible revolutions than any river in Europe—more anarchy, cruelty and bloodshed! Yet on it flows, all unheeding, its banks adorned with wide and beautiful *quais*, and stately edifices raise their heads on either side—lovely gardens stretch themselves out in all directions—rich treasures of architecture and art are every where visible—sparkling fountains glimmer in the sunshine—merry, light-hearted people are chattering and gesticulating in all directions—the *past* has faded from before our eyes—the *present asserts* its claim—and soon we find ourselves all in vain attempting to *moralize* on the *Pont de Jena*, the bright sunshine, the blue skies, the buoyant atmosphere—these vivacious, garrulous French people all combine to forbid it—so we yield ourselves (perchance not altogether un-

willingly) to our circumstances, and are soon threading our way along the *Avenue de Neuilly*, (a favorite walk of the gay Parisians,) amusing ourselves with the fashion and elegance around us, and contrasting the light-hearted Frenchman with the reflective Englishman. To attempt to tell you, my dear friend, what we have seen, and where we have been since we reached Paris, in a single letter, would be an impossibility—so I will not try. Our stay here is brief, and our engagements so numerous, that it is only at intervals I can snatch a few minutes for writing—so I must trust to concluding my budget after I have returned to old England, and to you and your readers accepting a confused mass of "jottings," in the place of a letter.

It is almost as impossible, as it seems to me to be supererogatory to describe the *Louvre*, with its almost countless attractions of splendor and of art. Yet, I have just returned from our second day there, and can write of nothing else at this time; indeed, I feel in such a dreamy, mesmeric state, as if I were turned into a *spirit writer*, and could write about its world-renowned Long Gallery with my eyes closed!—then its still more famous "*Salon Carré*," that is said to contain the *choice specimens* of the choice treasures for which the *Louvre* is so justly celebrated—its gorgeous "*Galerie d' Apollon*," commenced under Charles IX., completed under the auspices of the present Emperor, and re-opened to the public. The magnificence and gorgeousness of this last named Gallery can scarcely be exceeded; it is 184 feet in length, and 28 in breadth. The walls and the vaulted ceiling are profusely gilt and elaborately painted. Here are allegorical figures, arabesques and escutcheons in any number and variety. On this side, we see Aurora mounted on her car, on that Amphitrite, or the Triumph of the Waters. Here is a compartment, representing *Summer*—there another portraying *Winter*—on this side is *Evening*—on that, *Night*. Here are stuccos of the Muses, the signs of the zodiac and flowers, beautifully executed, and all manner of emblems and medallions so thickly interspersed that the mind becomes confused, and you quit the spot with but little ability to analyze *l'embarras des richesses* of the *Galerie d' Apollon*. It is just the reverse of this with a neighboring apartment, termed the *Salon Carré*. The recollection of some of the magnificent paintings that adorn the wall of this *Salon* will never be effaced from my memory. "*The Marriage at Cana*," by *Paul Verrone*, is one of the gems here. More than 120 figures are painted in this wonderful picture, which is colossal in its dimensions. "*The Holy Family*" of *Raffaello* here, is one of the finest pictures of that first of painters. I could gaze at it for hours, unwearyed, and still discover new beauties both in the design and execution. It is a soul-subduing painting that it costs one a pang to leave. Had I my choice of one picture from the *Louvre* treasures, this would, unhesitatingly, be the one I should select. Some other fine *Holy Families* are here—one by *Correggio*, another by *Andrea del Sarto*—a *Head of John the Baptist*, by *Bernardino Luini*, some of the masterpieces of *Guido Caravaggio* and *Michel Angelo* are in this *Salon Carré*; and even for the Long Gallery of the *Louvre*, you quit with regret these wondrous pictures, which stand out from the canvas, and look down upon you from the walls of this department.

I dare not trust myself to particularize any of the paintings of the Long Gallery. They are classified and arranged in accordance with their respective schools. The Italian, Flemish, Spanish and French schools are all extensively represented. *Claude* is here seen in perfection. I am not an admirer of the French school of painting, yet *Vernet* has several excellent paint-

ings, and *Claude* makes one forget that he belonged to the French school, and came from *Lorraine*. I do not consider that *Murillo* is well represented at the *Louvre*. I would rather have his "*Holy Family*," in our National Gallery, or his "*Spanish Boys*," from the *Dulwich Gallery*, than any picture of his now in the *Louvre*, even though his "*Conception*" and "*Assumption of the Virgin*" are here. The riches of the Italian and Venetian schools are endless. *Raphael*, *Correggio*, *Leonardo da Vinci*, *Guido*, the *Caracci*, *Andrea del Sarto*, *Michel Angelo*, *Caravaggio*, *Giorgione*, *Titian*—mighty *Titian*!—with many lesser lights of Italy, are all fittingly represented here. Time fails you to look at all the wonders spread out before you, much less to tell of them. Then the Flemish school, with countless "*Vans*," &c., contains some wonderful minutely painted pictures. *Steenwyck's* interiors of churches, *Ruisdael's* dark storm scenes, *Rembrandt's* lights and shadows, *Paul Potter's* cattle, *Wouwerman's* white horses, *Denner's* "*Old Woman*," are world renowned; and *Ostade*, *Gerard Dov*, *Brauer* and *Berghem*, and last but not least, *Rubens* and *Vandyck*, what can we say of all these mighty masters, but that we needed a month, instead of two days, to make ourselves *thoroughly* acquainted with their wondrous works, and that we grieved when the clock sounded the hour for bidding adieu to the Long Gallery of the *Louvre*. We only passed and repassed the *Musée Egyptian*. Our own Museum is rich in Egyptian antiquities, and we had no spare time—so, on went we to the *Musée des Souverains*, which is composed of five rooms, that interested me exceedingly, as it contains memorials and paintings of some of the leading monarchs of France—not omitting *Henry IV.* and his queen, *Marie de Medicis*.—Here is a full length silver statue of him, when as a child he bore the title of *Henry of Navarre*; here are suits of armor, worn by *Francis I.*, *Henry II.* and *III.*, and *Charles IX.*, and magnificent mantles also worn by them. I was interested especially to see a *bible* of *Charlemagne*, dated 780, a *prayer book* of *Charles the Bald*, the marriage sword of *Henry IV.*, and a casket, presented to *Anne of Austria* by *Richelieu*. Perhaps the contents of the fifth room of this suite more especially riveted my attention. The *Salle de l' Empereur* contains exclusively articles that once belonged to *Napoleon the Great*. Among them are full dress clothes worn by him on state occasions, his saddle, sword and gloves, his uniform coat worn at *Marengo*, the hat he wore through the campaign of 1814, the round hat he used at *St. Helena*, his camp bed, the pocket handkerchief found behind his pillow after his death, a locket, containing his hair and that of his son, and many other objects of special interest to hero worshippers.—But my paper is filling, and time failing; adieu for the present.

Alas! I have found it impossible, dear friend, to resume my scribble earlier. On re-reading what I wrote concerning the *Louvre*, I find I have commenced without a beginning, and ended, without an end, having assumed that all my friends across the Atlantic know the history of this magnificent palace. The few who do not may be interested to know that many, *many* centuries ago, a royal residence stood on the site of the *Louvre*; that *Philip Augustus*, in the 12th century, used it as a state prison; and that *Charles V.* used it as a Royal Library.—*Francis I.* resolved to build a new and magnificent palace, and commenced the present palace in 1528. What this monarch commenced, his son, *Henry II.*, continued and extended. *Henry IV.* and *Louis XIII.* carried forward the undertaking. *Louis XIV.* decided upon completing the palace, but suddenly stopped the progress of the work, and built *Versailles*. Until 1802, the greater part of the *Louvre* remained *roofless*.—Then *Napoleon* vigorously resumed the works,

and under him the Louvre was finished, and the adjacent places cleared. Charles X. and Louis Philippe have made most of the internal arrangements. The eastern front of this vast and truly magnificent palace is deemed one of the finest pieces of architecture of any age. One of the greatest improvements made by the present Emperor, is the junction of the palaces of the Louvre and the Tuilleries. All the dark, narrow streets in the vicinity of these palaces have been swept away, the space between them being formed into two distinct squares; one of these retains its old name of "Place du Carrousel," the other is called the "Place Napoleon III." The architecture is superb. Statues of the leading great men of France adorn the latter "Place," which is but recently completed. This effort of Louis Napoleon may be termed a grand success. It is rumored that he intends rebuilding a portion of the Tuilleries. Should he reign a few years longer, he will, without doubt, continue to improve the aspect of his fine capital. We have visited the famous *Gobelins* Manufacture, the China Manufacture at Sevres, St. Cloud, the Invalides, Tomb of Napoleon, the Pantheon, Luxembourg Palace, the Bourse, the beautiful Madeleine, and a number of other churches, *Pere la Chaise*, *le Jardin des Plantes*, &c., the wonderful Deaf and Dumb Institution, &c.; and had I more leisure, I would gladly say a few words about many of these interesting places, but just now it is impossible. Our introductions have brought us into very pleasant society, and we have attended several agreeable soirees, kindly arranged for our pleasure. At one of these we heard the great pianist, *Lubek*, who performed marvels on the instrument of which he is a complete master. He is deemed the greatest musical Professor in Paris. On Sunday morning I went to *l'Eglise de l'Oratoire*, a spacious church, ceded to the Protestants in 1802. The service was conducted in French, and a very eloquent sermon preached by "*le Grand Pierre*," from the text, "*Il y-a-encore de la place*." I was glad that I understood the preacher well enough to enjoy the discourse, and to feel what I had often done before, (viz:) that French is peculiarly adapted to religious services, and that there is great power in an eloquent French sermon. *M. Coquerel* and *Guillaume Monod* are among the pastors who preach at *l'Eglise de l'Oratoire*. Dr. C. preached twice on Sunday at one of the English Chapels. If he were making a lengthy stay here, I am induced to believe that some of our zealous Protestant friends would keep him fully employed in preaching, and would find me some pleasant and profitable occupation also. I am delighted especially with the brothers *Monod*, whom I have had the pleasure of meeting several times, and with whom I have had a good deal of conversation on *slavery* and *anti-slavery*. To-morrow evening we are invited to a soiree, at which we expect to meet some others of the French friends who are particularly interested in the poor American slave. I will tell you about it when I next write. I am uncertain when this will reach you, and fear a longer delay—so I shall dispatch it at once, unfinished as it is. Dr. C. joins me in best regards, and we send you our united assurance that amidst all the sight seeing and brilliance of this gay city, we have not forgotten to labor for the American slave. The amount of success I will tell you by and bye.

Farewell for the present, dear friend; believe me, now and ever,

Your faithful friend,
JULIA G. CROFTS.

A slave, belonging to Mrs. Harris, near Hamburg, Perry Co., Ala., was recently whipped to death by her overseer, a man named Howard.

THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY.

[From the Tribune, May 13.]

The proceedings at the annual meeting of the American Tract Society, afford a curious commentary upon the frankness and sincerity of those who so bitterly denounced the proxy bill lately before the Legislature. The bill was spoken of as a "weapon for subjugating a religious society," an "attempt to dragoon a missionary association." The advocates of the present order of things in the American Tract Society, if they have the slightest sense of shame left, ought, one would think, to be a little careful how they talk about subjection and dragooning. A more thorough specimen of attempted dragooning and subjection than was exhibited at the meeting on Wednesday, it would be very difficult to find, though, thank Heaven, it was not entirely successful. Not Tammany Hall itself was ever the scene of a more thorough specimen of the attempted enforcement of gag law than was the Academy of Music on that occasion.

The opponents of the proxy bill employed as their chief, in fact almost their sole argument against it, the suggestion that to allow a vote by proxy would deprive the society of all the benefits of preliminary discussion; that all questions to come before the meetings would be decided before-hand, and all attempts on the part of the members present to inform and enlighten each other frustrated and forestalled.—And what opportunity is allowed, under the existing system, to the members present at the meetings, to enlighten each other by public discussion? Those who wish for light on that question are referred to the proceedings of the society at their annual meeting, as reported in Wednesday's papers. There was evidently a fixed determination on the part of the majority present to prevent any discussion or any suggestions on the part of anybody not on their side—a determination in which the presiding officer shared, and which was carried out not only by raising questions of order and by making motions to lay upon the table, but by drowning the voices of the obnoxious speakers by shouts, hisses, and the most unseemly noises.

It was only with the greatest difficulty, and through the interference of one of the majority not wholly lost to all sense of decency and fairness, that the Rev. Dr. Patton obtained a hearing for a resolution which he proposed to offer. But this resolution, when with difficulty it was got before the meeting, was promptly disposed of on a question of order; and when it was again offered by the Rev. Dr. Wolcott, in a shape to evade that objection, that gentleman's mouth was immediately closed by another question of order—and all debate thus effectually prevented, and even the entertainment of the resolution, on the ground that it had been forestalled by a cut-and-dried resolution, already before the meeting, about the election of officers. Upon another resolution, offered by Mr. Jay, the only speech allowed was one against it, by Mr. Daniel Lord, who closed with moving to lay Mr. Jay's resolution on the table, for the avowed purpose of cutting off any reply to his speech—a manœuvre in which he succeeded.

It evidently had been the intention to hurry through the business, and then to adjourn without giving the minority any opportunity to get their propositions before the meeting. But in this the managers were defeated. The Rev. Mr. Wolcott contrived, in the confusion which followed the choking down of debate on Mr. Jay's resolution, to get possession of the floor, and obliged the majority to meet the question of recommending to the Publishing Committee the publication of a tract calculated to arouse and concentrate the religious sentiments of Evangelical Christians against the slave-trade, and to set forth its wickedness before the nation. The mover could not be prevented from speaking on his resolution; but as soon as Mr. Hiram Ketchum could get the floor, he closed a speech against it by moving to lay it on the table, thus cutting off all former debate. Of course, Mr. Ketchum's motion was carried.

But a portion of the meeting now found themselves in an awkward predicament. The

Rev. Dr. Spring began to feel, as well he might, that the society was standing on the brink of a deep abyss, and were on the point of making shipwreck of morality and God.—He was quite willing to let Slavery in the Southern States alone. He had supported the policy of the Publishing Committee in refusing to comply with the instructions of the society to issue tracts on the moral evils and vices which Slavery is known to promote.—He would much have preferred that the danger with which the country is threatened by the revival of the African slave-trade should never have been brought before the society; but as it had been, it would not, in his opinion, look well for the society to imply, as they did by rejecting the resolution, that trading to Africa for slaves, which the law of the land denounces as piracy, was, however, one of those things as to the morality of which the Evangelical Christians of this country are not agreed! So, to mend the matter, he proposed a resolution that, in refusing to express any opinion in favor of publishing a tract against the slave-trade, the society did not mean to be understood as entertaining the slightest doubt as to the sin of the African slave-trade, or the great wickedness of reviving that iniquitous traffic under any form.

The passage of this resolution appears, however, to us, greatly to have increased the awkwardness of the society's position. How does it happen that the society cannot and should not denounce in a tract that which it feels constrained for very shame's sake to denounce by resolution? If prior to the passage of Dr. Spring's resolution the society stood on the brink of a deep abyss, it appears to us that since the passage of that resolution it has at least one foot over. That resolution only adds self-stultification and cowardice. Nothing could afford a stronger proof of the necessity of passing the proxy bill, and thereby enabling the members of the society to come to the rescue, than the pass to which it had been brought by those who at present control it.

DR. PATTON'S RESOLUTION.

Whereas, The African slave-trade is contrary to the first principles of the Gospel and humanity, is condemned by all Evangelical Christians, and is repudiated by all Christian, civilized and enlightened nations; and whereas, there are indications that this trade, with all its crimes and horrors, already is, or is about to be, re-opened by adventurers from this country; and whereas, the only barrier to this trade is the moral sense, enlightened by the Gospel; therefore,

Resolved, That the Publishing Committee be directed to issue during the present year a tract or tracts calculated to arouse and concentrate the religious sentiment of Evangelical Christians against the slave-trade, and to set forth its wickedness before the nation.

MR. JAY'S RESOLUTION.

Whereas, It was unanimously and solemnly adjudged by this Society in 1857, after long and careful deliberation, and in accordance with the unanimous report of the Committee of Fifteen, that those moral duties which grew out of the existence of slavery, as well as those moral evils and vices which it is known to promote, and are condemned in Scripture and so much deplored by Evangelical Christians, undoubtedly do fall within the province of this Society, and so ought to be discussed in a fraternal and Christian spirit; and whereas, at the meeting of the Society in 1858, the omission of the said Publishing Committee to perform the said duty during the year then past, was reported with a special apology for the said omission at the said time, and the said report was accepted; and whereas, no sufficient reasons are apparent to justify the Society in a prolonged neglect to perform the said duty, while there were weighty reasons why the same should be promptly and faithfully fulfilled; therefore,

Resolved, That the Publishing Committee be instructed to publish, during the coming year, one or more tracts on the moral evils and vices which slavery is known to promote, and which are so much deplored by Evangelical Christians.

THE OBERLIN-WELLINGTON RESCUE PRISONERS.

Why they are in Jail—How they are Situated, and how they Fare.

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: The frequency with which the inquiry, why are you in jail, and how do you fare? coming to us from all parts of the country, leads me to think that an answer to the question would be acceptable to your many readers. Venturing, therefore, upon your liberality, I offer to them the following statement:

The "Rescue" trials commenced on the 5th of April. All of the indicted who had been arrested, except three or four who were excused by the District-Attorney, kept themselves in daily attendance upon the Court during the "Bushnell trial," as their personal recognizances required. While discharging their duties to the Court to the letter, they were, soon after the opening of the "Langston trial," contrary to legal rules and to justice, and for no offense except that of refusing as they had a perfect right to do, to make any defense before the Jury, which, in convicting Bushnell, had virtually prejudged their cases, but which the Court directed to proceed to the trial of the other cases, ordered into custody. Thus shamefully put into duress, they refused to accept of liberty on any terms short of a righting by the Court of the indignity and wrong which they had suffered at its hands.

On the Monday following the commitment, the Court did recede from its ruling respecting the Jury, but it confirmed the insult it had offered to the prisoners in wrongfully putting them into custody, by recording a journal entry which declared that the defendants were ordered into duress because *they surrendered themselves* in discharge of their recognizances; while the fact was that the recognizances were canceled by the Court itself, *after* the commitment had been ordered.

From the time that the Court thus redressed one wrong, while it intensified another, to the present hour, the prisoners have seen no opportunity for escaping custody by renewing their recognizances, which did not bring with it necessity for acknowledging in the act of entering the recognizances, that the fault of the commitment lay with themselves; that the going into custody was self-imposed, for mere effect; that what they had done for effect had failed of its purpose, and that they were conscious of present, and expected final defeat.

These things the prisoners have not been willing to acknowledge. For, in the first place, self-respect has required them to show that they could understand insults if they were not at liberty to resent them. The same motive which made Christ repel indignities by a bearing which drew from his persecutors the rebuke, "answerest thou the high priest so," and which prompted Paul to express his sense of outrages which he had suffered by saying, "They have beaten us openly uncondemned, being Romans, and have cast us into prison; and now do they thrust us out privily? nay, verily; but let them come themselves and fetch us out," has moved them to be steadfast in refusing terms which made self-degradation the price of liberty.

Besides, the conviction that self-humiliation would only protract their troubles at the bar of the Court, and add to the weight with which it threatens to crush them, has joined self-respect in requiring the prisoners to refuse the terms of release offered to them "Caving in," as the Government prints have descriptively called the act of such of the imprisoned as have gone out on bail, could only compromise the standing of the indicted with the public, and strengthen the purpose of the prosecution. The eagerness with which the Government has sought means to induce the prisoners to enter into new recognizances, and the triumph with which it has recorded its success in two or three instances, prove conclusively what aid and comfort it expects to derive from concessions on the part of those who are in its clutches. The imprisoned have had

only to observe these signs to see where their only road to safety lies.

And again, an urgent sense of duty to the cause of Freedom has helped to keep the imprisoned where they are! They have seen clearly that the great object of the Government in the pending trials has been to humble the spirit of opposition to unrighteous laws and to Federal tyranny for which the Reserve has long been celebrated. With this intention every day illustrated before them, they have been constrained to prove by their conduct, that while the prosecution can *punish*, it cannot *subdue* that living principle against which it has chosen to pit itself. Hence, what his Honor Judge Nelson saw fit to characterize as "*punctolis*," they regard as *duty*, and as duty made imperative by circumstances of more than common moment. Such are the facts and such the motives, under the operation of which fourteen men, who mean to obey all righteous laws to the last letter, are made to suffer tedious and wearing confinement in a jail.

But leaving this subject, we close our article with a few paragraphs upon miscellaneous topics connected with the imprisonment, which will be likely to interest the reader.

When the alleged "rescuers" were first imprisoned, they numbered twenty. Of these, sixteen were from Oberlin, and four from Wellington and its vicinity. From the beginning of the confinement, strong outside influences, many of them obviously prompted by the Court officers, were brought to bear on the Wellington "delegation" to induce it to detach itself from its fellows from Oberlin. The motive which stimulated at least some of these influences was probably confessed by an officer when he said to a party which he had under tuition, "We mean to make a point of Oberlin." (A motive, by the way, which District-Attorney Belden and his assistant, Judge Bliss, had previously betrayed in the malignant invective which they constantly leveled at Oberlin and its *saints*.) The outside influences, well plied, at length accomplished their purpose. All the Wellington prisoners, except Matthew Gillette, a veteran of 75 years, left the prison on bail, and soon after, six of ten indicted from Wellington and its vicinity withdrew the plea of "not guilty," and put in that of "*noli contendere*"—upon which plea they were sentenced to a merely nominal punishment. The reproach which the prosecution suffered in detaining Mr. Gillette presently forced it to send him home, receiving from him no bail, and no promise, except one in which he pledged himself to return if his own attorneys should send for him.

The imprisoned now number 14, all of them hailing from Oberlin. The way is therefore clear for the prosecution to work that spite against the Anti-Slavery sentiment of Oberlin, which its enemies have long entertained, and which they have often threatened to gratify.

Of the imprisoned, 10 are married, and 4 unmarried. There are in their families 37 children. The most of the prisoners are in either moderate or straightened circumstances, and their condition is aggravated by the fact that the business which several of them have but just begun, is now arrested and cannot easily be restored to its former standing.

The prisoners lodge in the debtors' ward and the adjoining chambers of the jail.—["The nicely-furnished parlor," said to be occupied by them, exists only in fable.] These accommodations are scanty and inconvenient, but are as comfortable as Sheriff Wightman's generous care, and Jailer Smith's constant attention to neatness can possibly make them.—The food set before them is ample in allowance and quality, and is served with a neatness which might well be emulated by some "first class" hotels. In a word, whatever can be done for them by Sheriff Wightman and his aids consistently with duty, is done.

It should be said in this connection that the "rescue" prisoners are allowed to take exercise in the prison yard. Beyond its limits they are not expected to go, and, of course, do not go.

The health of the company has, thus far,

been excellently good, and it has reason to thank a kind Providence that serious sickness has not yet been allowed to invade the homes which it has left.

To keep "a sound mind in a sound body," the prisoners maintain as much regularity in their habits as possible. They observe religious worship morning and night, and maintain a Bible class and a preaching service on the Sabbath. To mental labor they add recreation, and in strong physical exercises and sports, forget the cares which might otherwise oppress them. No day passes in which they are not thronged with company and every class in society has sent up its representatives to express to them its sympathy, and to cheer them with the assurance that they do not suffer in vain.

Such is the mode of life of the imprisoned company. Its condition is undesirable and even excessively irksome, but it keeps a good heart and cheerfully bears its trials. What the issue of its afflictions will be none can foresee, and when the end will come, none foretell. God is its keeper. It is in what it regards as His cause that it has met its sorrows, and to Him it commits its fortunes. It knows that "all things" under His hand "will work for good."

It has cheered the prisoners to know that much prayer daily goes to Heaven in their behalf. They beg Christians still to remember them before that throne which never denies a believing prayer.

Respectfully yours, H. E. PECK.
Cuyahoga Co. Jail, Cleveland, Ohio, May 21.

A REMARKABLE CASE OF ALLEGED FUGITIVES FROM SLAVERY—READ IT.—Years ago a woman held as property by A. H. Evans, of this county, came with his consent to St. Louis and worked here for wages, a stipulated part of which was paid to him. She here formed a marriage connecting with a free negro, and had successively two children, whom she reported to her "master" as having died. She had then another child, whose freedom she subsequently purchased, together with her own. Her present husband is John Jackson, at Fourteenth and Gratiot streets, and does chores at the Recorder's Court Room and Calaboose. That the mother so long succeeded in averting the suspicion of their existence, from her two children, is most remarkable.—The revelation that she had deceived him seems not to have been made to Evans until within a few days. Another negro having knowledge of the facts in the case, and becoming involved in a quarrel with Jackson, communicated his information to Evans on the payment, as we learn, of \$100 therefor.—The lad Isam, aged about eighteen, and the girl Anna, aged about seventeen years—who all their lives had been taught to feel themselves free—were accordingly consigned to the felon's cell.

Yesterday the mother procured an application for habeas corpus writ in their behalf, which was granted, and on which investigation will probably be had before Judge Lackland, of the Circuit Court, this forenoon. Than that humane and upright Judge, we know none to whom this delicate case could better be committed. He must, however, administer "the law"—whatever that may be.

The child which Mrs. Jackson bought of Mr. Evans, is called "Gilly," and is fifteen or sixteen years old. A day or two since, he met the informer, whose revenge had thrown Isam and Anna in jail, and very unceremoniously and vigorously assaulted him with rocks. "Gilly" was therefore arrested, and was yesterday fined in the Court of Justice Hequembourg, \$9.50 for his temerity.

Perhaps the instance thus related, is to be taken as an illustration of the humanity and justice of the "peculiar institution."—*St. Louis Democrat.*

The free colored population of Louisiana are emigrating to Hayti in large numbers, and it is calculated that over two thousand—the greater part of whom have trades, are intelligent and industrious—will leave for Hayti before the end of the present year.

DEATH OF JOSEPH STURGE.

Mr. Sturge, a well-known reformer, died at Birmingham on the 14th ult. Mr. Sturge was born Aug. 2, 1793. In 1820 he established the firm of Joseph and Charles Sturge, in Birmingham, which has ever since been recognized as one of the principal corn-dealing houses in the world. His sympathies were constantly with the oppressed and the poor; but he was chiefly distinguished by his great exertions against Slavery, on behalf of peace, in opposition to the corn-laws, in the promotion of the principles of total abstinence, and in the establishment of Reformatory Schools. His first appearance in public life was in the year 1833, from which time until the final abolition of Slavery in the British dominions, he worked with Brougham, Wilberforce, Clarkson and Buxton, helping the cause with his pen, tongue and purse. Dissatisfied with the concession, and doubtful if the act which substituted the apprenticeship system for the importation of absolute slaves, Mr. Sturge in 1837, made, at his own cost, a journey to the West India Islands, to examine for himself the state of the negro population. He collected a vast body of information, which was laid before the Parliamentary Committee, and was mainly instrumental in procuring the act of Parliament by which Slavery in every form was declared to be abolished in the British dominions. Mr. Sturge afterward published a narrative of his voyage, which is still a standard authority on the subject of which it treats. In 1841, he visited the United States to examine American Slavery, and on his return published a book, which is still valuable. When the Provisional Government was established in France in 1848, he visited Paris as the guest of Arago, then Minister of the Colonies, and so forcibly did he plead the cause of the slaves that the Minister successfully exerted his influence to obtain a decree putting an end to the system. Mr. Sturge took a prominent part in every Peace Congress since that at Brussels in 1848 and went on more than one mission of peace. During the war between Denmark and the Duchies in 1848, he went first to the headquarters of the Schleswig Holsteiners, and then to the capital of Denmark, to endeavor to persuade the belligerents to refer their disputes to arbitration. His visit to Russia in 1854 is fresh in the public mind. In 1856, he went to Paris as one of a deputation commissioned to press on the Peace Congress the importance of recognizing the principle of non-intervention; and in the same year he undertook a journey to Finland, and laboriously investigated the miseries inflicted on the wretched inhabitants of the coast by the war which was then just brought to a close. In politics, Mr. Sturge was an advanced Radical, belonging to the party of which Mr. John Bright has become the leader. He ran for Parliament several times, but was never elected. In religion he was a Friend. The Birmingham journal adds that his charity, the simplicity of his character, his high honor, his sterling honesty in every relation of public and private life, and his tolerance of others' opinions, were such that it would be difficult to say whether he was more respected by his opponents or his friends.—*N. Y. Tribune*.

During the Border Ruffianism of 1856, four Free State men were butchered by the brigands of Democracy at Ossawatomie and were hurriedly buried by their friends in obscure places. April 13th last the citizens met and removed the remains of the martyrs to a beautiful site selected as their final resting place, and an organization was effected for the purpose of erecting a suitable monument to the memory of the deceased. Their names are Frederick Brown, son of the brave old Capt. John Brown; Geo. Partridge, Mr. Garrison, and Mr. Powers.

A large convention of the freemen of Ohio met on Tuesday last at Cleveland, to give expression to the sentiments of the people of that State respecting the Fugitive Slave Law, and the action of the Federal Courts in the Oberlin and other cases. Among the speakers were Gov. Chase and Senator Wade.

A FUGITIVE SLAVE SUIT.—It is to be presumed that our readers have not forgotten the circumstances of the escape of a slave from a gentleman residing in the vicinity of Cynthiana, mentioned in our paper a month or two ago, and of the fact of his being in our city. He was seen here by Deputy City Marshal Morton, who supposed at the time, from the air of indifference assumed by the negro, that he had been sent in from the country by his master, and therefore he passed and repassed him without suspicion, and he knew no better until his owner arrived, having in his possession a printed hand-bill offering a reward of \$100 for his apprehension. The owner, while here, ascertained that his negro made an attempt to pass over to the Cincinnati side on the ferry boat commanded by Capt. Ed. Air, that Capt. Air examined his pass, which was more like the papers of a free negro than the pass granted to a slave by his master, and being somewhat in doubt, under all the circumstances, he (Capt. Air) refused to allow him to cross on his boat. The owner of the negro subsequently became informed that the runaway passed over the Kentucky Central Railroad, arriving in Covington, and he consequently brought suit against the Railroad Company to recover the full value of the slave, who probably escaped through the facilities offered by the Underground Railroad to Canada, the depot of fugitive slaves.

Capt. Ed. Air left yesterday morning for Cynthiana, summoned by the defense, to give testimony in the case, which testimony will be in relation to the pass exhibited by the negro when he made an attempt to cross the Ohio at our ferry. If the result should be that the suit was decided in favor of the plaintiff, it would institute a provocation on the part of the Railroad Company for them to refuse to transport all negroes hereafter, except they were in the company of their masters, as the conductors, as in this case, would always be liable to be imposed upon by forged or spurious papers. The fact of so much time having transpired between the escape of the slave and the appearance of the handbill affixing a reward for his arrest, in connection with the peculiar papers shown to Capt. Air by the negro, may have the tendency to decide the case in favor of the Railroad Company, which seems to be entitled to such a disposition of justice.—*Cincinnati Enquirer*.

BURNT ALIVE.—A correspondent of the *Galveston News* writes from Grand Cone, May 2, as follows:

"A dreadful murder was committed last Sunday week by a negro on his master. Mr. James Roper passed here with his negro on his way home to Peach Tree Village. They camped out a mile and a half above Smithfield; the stage driver in the evening saw them sitting together; half an hour afterwards the negro dashed out his master's brains, as it appeared, with an ax while he was asleep, and then burned his body. He then proceeded toward home, and stated to some of the citizens that he did not know what had become of his master. Suspicions were excited, and he was taken to the spot where they had camped; the ashes of the fire were examined, and pieces of bones, buttons and rags found. The negro said the Indians had killed him, but the evidence of the stage driver was against him, and he owned the whole. On Saturday, the 30th April, the negro was burned alive on the spot where he had killed his master. He acknowledged he had a good master. His back was bared, and no indication appeared of his ever having been whipped. Mr. Roper was a new comer, and the negro had left a wife in Alabama. The rest of Mr. Roper's family wished to return to Alabama, but Mr. Roper was opposed to it, but promised the negro to purchase his wife next year if money could be obtained, as he had to return and collect some money. This the negro thought was too long to wait, and he thought that if his master was put out of the way some of the family would go back to Alabama."

Richard Cobden has joined Horace Greeley in his journey to California.

ASHTABULA ON THE OBERLIN TRIALS.—We find in the Cleveland papers, the proceedings of a large meeting which was held at Jefferson, the county seat of Ashtabula, on Saturday night, to declare in favor of State Rights and Personal Liberty. An amount of feeling exists in the Western Reserve, and particularly in Ashtabula County, on the subject of the Oberlin rescue trials, to which that of Southern and Central Ohio bears no comparison.—At this meeting resolutions were adopted denouncing the Fugitive Slave law, and pledging the prisoners at Cleveland, that if judicial relief was not ultimately afforded, "no prison should hold them." Senator Cadwell addressed the people in a speech of great power and eloquence; and after the Committee had reported the resolutions, Mr. Giddings spoke and "made one of his powerful and peculiar speeches, with telling effect. He closed by sketching a history of the Order of the Sons of Liberty in New England, an organized body of the days of the Revolution to apply the doctrines of free government and practice protection of the right. They were the men, he said, who compelled the British Stamp Act Commissioner, Ingersoll, to resign his royal commission; and afterward enacted the 'Boston Tea Party.' He then submitted a Constitution for such a body, and after signing it himself, invited others to follow his example; when nearly a hundred names were enrolled on the spot! These men will be heard from when you want them." As a significant fact in this matter, we notice that among those who took part in this meeting, are the names of some who are the most conservative in the community—an old Whig of Old Whigs standing at the head of the Committee on resolutions. Nearly all the county officers participated, Senator Wade was absent from town.

BRANDING NEGROES.—The *Selma (Ala.) Sentinel*, in alluding to the punishment of a negro at Claiborne, Miss., by branding, says:

"This seems to us a new feature in the punishment of slaves. We were under the impression that such luxuries as the penitentiary and branding were reserved exclusively for the delectation of white folks. It was once the fashion to hang negroes for the crime of arson; but such property is probably too valuable to choke off in that way now. Perhaps the next step may be to send them to the penitentiary for life, when convicted of murder, and pay their owners for the time lost. Won't that be philanthropy? But we cannot see that any 'punishment' has been inflicted on the negro by branding, as he is not at all disgraced by it. Nevertheless, when we obtain a full supply of cheap laborers the community will soon be rid of such desperadoes."

ARREST OF A FREE NEGRO ON SUSPICION OF BEING A FUGITIVE.—A negro who formerly worked for Mr. Dickerman, in this county, and used to play the banjo for the amusement of men and boys, recently started for Pike's Peak in the employment of Mr. Aaron Daniels, who lived in the town of Rutland, and it appears that on his passage up the Missouri, he was nabbed and put in jail at St. Joseph on the presumption that he is a runaway slave, and unless he is redeemed by his friends or claimed by an owner, he is soon to be sold for jail fees. Mr. Dickerman has received a letter from St. Joseph stating the case, and we learn that steps will be taken by those who knew the negro here to effect his liberation. Glorious country, this.—*Ottawa (Ill.) Republican*.

Horace Greeley has left home for California by the overland route, through Kansas and the Great Salt Lake. He designs stopping on the road at all the important places, and will write to the Tribune at different times, his experience of the way and manner of doing things in the country which he will pass through. He will visit the new gold regions at Pike's Peak, and give a true account of what is doing in that country.

The Detroit Advertiser asserts that within a week ninety-four fugitive slaves have crossed the river into Canada, and values the "stock" at \$94,000.

CITIZENSHIP.

BY DR. JAMES McCUNE SMITH.

Two circumstances are remarkable in the discussions which have stirred the public mind in regard to the Dred Scott decision. One is, that the statement by Judge Taney, of what he believes to have been a prevalent opinion seventy odd years ago, has been tortured into the authority of *a dictum*, if not a decision of the present Supreme Court of the United States. This statement is, that "negroes had no rights which white men are bound to respect." It is hardly necessary to say that Judge Taney did not utter this sentence as his own opinion, much less the opinion of the Supreme Court, still less as the *decision* of the Supreme Court. Had the Court held such an opinion, they would have dismissed the case of Dred Scott, not for the reason which the Court gave, to wit: "because he was a slave in the State of Missouri, according to the laws thereof, and therefore not a citizen of the United States within the meaning of the Constitution"—no! they would have dismissed the case summarily, because Dred Scott was a "negro who had no rights which white men were bound to respect."

The easy rapidity with which this atrocious sentiment passed from tongue to tongue, and the sudden possession which it took of the public mind, create any but hopeful feelings in regard to our public virtue or integrity. The anaesthesia which suffered the black man's rights to be swept away—as the public thought—by the sweep of a pen or the utterance of a sentence, will soon be so profound as to regard with equal indifference the abstraction of white men's rights. Nay, does not the history of Kansas prove that such a state of apathy or indifference has already overtaken the public mind? "Our goods, but not our principles are for sale," is a splendid apothegm—so long as any principles survive.

The other circumstance alluded to bears a like relation to our actual position in the path of progress; it shows, that if we are fast, active and advancing, we are, nevertheless, superficial; more conversant with the small change of minute facts than with the weightier affairs of profound reflection. In the hurry to discuss the far-famed opinion of Justice Taney, we have devoted all our time and attention, from Justice Curtis down to our New York Assembly men, to *rebutting* this opinion with facts; the broad principles which underlie the discussion, the high argument which should have stirred anew with refreshing influence the deep slumber of decided opinions on the relation which individuals bear to the state, and the limits of the power of the judiciary to alter such relation, have not yet been, nor are they likely to be, reached—because, forsooth, only negroes are supposed to be concerned.—A good deal of sympathy has been poured out with pharisaic air, upon the poor disfranchised negro, while no ken has been sharp enough to discern that the whole body politic has received a wound none the less deep, because unfelt. The public mind, swept and garnished from all living perception of justice and mercy, became an easy possession to the seven who constituted the working majority of the Supreme Court.

Leaving it to abler hands to discuss the broader bearings of this subject, we propose to examine a single term—*citizenship*—on which it will readily be seen the whole question hangs. *What is Citizenship?*

Singularly enough this term is a species, of which language has not yet furnished the generic term; clear proof, notwithstanding our boasted advance in all things, of our imperfect development in the matter of civil government. The relation which the individual bears to the state has no general expression in language. A *subject* expresses the relation of a person to a monarchical form of government; a *citizen* expresses the relation of a person to an elective form of government, that of a city, or a State. A citizen of London, may be a subject of the King of Great Britain. Louis VI. first granted in 1113 certain franchises which made the inhabitants of

Nayon citizens; and Henry I. of England by similar grant made the dwellers of London citizens thereof. There is really no difference between *citizen* and *denizen*, the word *den* being the Welsh radical having the force of the Latin *civis*.

As the Constitution of the United States does not define the word *citizen*,* the definition must be sought in the exact meaning of the word itself, altogether independently of the Constitution. Herein, after all, lies the great and only safeguard against the corruption or centralization which grow out of a written constitution. Language, and words, with their distinct meaning at the time of its adoption, are the only record to which we can safely go back as a barrier against new and forced, or false interpretations.

Aristotle defines a citizen to be *metochos kriseos kai arches*, "a partner in the Legislative and judicial power." The chief characteristics of citizens among the Athenians were good birth, hereditary transmission of privileges, the possession of land and the performance of military service. So precious was the right of citizenship, that it required a vote of 6,000 citizens to admit a stranger to the rights of citizenship. Among the Spartans, the helots or slaves earned the rank of citizen by purchase, or by military service, more especially in the heavy army ranks. *Emancipation at once conferred citizenship on the person emancipated.*

The word *citizenship*, however, of Latin derivation, gathers its purport and exact meaning from the Roman Republic; it originated and *grew* under the Romans. Regarded as the relation which the individual bears to the state, the word *citizenship* is worthy of a close and attentive study; a broad historical view of the general relation of individual and state is presented by Mr. Mill in his remarkable essay on *Liberty*, as follows:

"The struggle between *Liberty* and *Authority* is the most conspicuous feature in the portions of history with which we are early familiar,† particularly that of Greece, Rome and England. But in old times this contest was between subjects, or some classes of subjects, and the government. By *liberty* was meant protection against the tyranny of political rulers. The rulers were conceived (except in some of the popular governments of Greece) as in necessarily antagonistic position to the people whom they ruled. They consisted of a governing One, or a governing tribe or caste, who derived their authority from inheritance or conquest, who, at all events did not venture, perhaps did not desire, to contest, whatever precautions might be taken against its oppressive exercise. Their power was regarded as necessary, but also as highly dangerous; as a weapon which they might attempt to use against their subjects, no less than against external enemies. To prevent the weaker members of the community from being preyed upon by innumerable vultures, it was needful

* The word *citizen*, as used in the Constitution, did not bear the restricted sense applied to an inhabitant of a city possessing the franchise thereof; it bore the larger sense of the relation of the individual to the state of which that individual is an integral part. Our Declaration of Independence expressed this relation in the words "All men are created free and equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

† Mr. MILL here speaks of British youth.—Young America, as instructed in the Ward Schools of the City of New York, and we fear throughout the land, is forced to *cram* with the *dates* of every sanguinary conflict of the Revolution, the *numbers* slain, and the *event* of the battle; it is pitiful to hear school boys complain of their inability to remember these dates; this filling the young mind with the *dates* instead of the *principles* of the Revolution, generates a hatred instead of a reverence for that great event. A School History, sound on the principles of liberty which lay at the root, and culminated in the result of the American Revolution, would be entirely too Anti-Slavery to command the *market*. So the South not only buys our goods, but saps the principles of our youth and gains command of the next generation. WILLIAM GOODELL owes it to the cause to write and print, a "Constitution of the United States with questions and answers for the use of schools."

that there should be an animal of prey stronger than the rest, commissioned to keep them down. But as the King of vultures would be no less bent upon preying on the flock, than any of the minor harpies, it was indispensable to be in a perpetual attitude of defense against his beak and claws. The aim, therefore, of patriots, was to set limits to the power which the ruler should be suffered to exercise over the community; and this limitation was what they meant by *liberty*. It was attempted in two ways. First, by obtaining a recognition of certain immunities, called political liberty or rights, which it was to be regarded as a breach of duty in the ruler to infringe, and which if he did infringe specific resistance or general rebellion was held to be justifiable. A second, and generally later expedient, was the establishment of constitutional checks; by which the *conseil* of the community, or a body of some sort, supposed to represent its interests, was made a necessary condition to some of the more important acts of the governing power. To the first of these modes of limitation, the ruling power, in most European countries, was compelled, more or less, to submit. It was not so with the second; and to attain this, or when already in some degree possessed, to attain it more completely became everywhere the principal object of the lovers of *liberty*. And so long as mankind was content to control one enemy by another, and to be ruled by a master, on condition of being guaranteed more or less efficaciously against his tyranny, they did not carry their aspirations beyond this point.

A time, however, came in the progress of human affairs, when men ceased to think it a necessity of nature that their *Governors* should be an independent power, opposed in interest to themselves. It appeared to them much better that the various magistrates of the State should be their tenants or delegates, revocable at their pleasure. By degrees this new demand for elective temporary rulers became the prominent object of the popular party, wherever any such party existed; and superseded, to a considerable extent, the previous efforts to limit the power of rulers.—*That* (it might seem) was a resource against rulers whose interests were habitually opposed to those of the people. What was now wanted was, that the rulers should be identified with the people; that their interest and will should be the interest and will of the nation. The nation did not need to be protected against its own will. Their power was but the nation's own power, concentrated, and in a form convenient for exercise. This mode of thought, or rather perhaps of feeling, was common among the last generation of European liberalism. Those who admit any limit to what a Government may do, except in the case of such Governments as they think ought not to exist, stand out as brilliant exceptions among the political thinkers of the Continent." (Introduction, pp. 9—11.)

To return to the meaning of the word *Citizen* under Roman law: the citizen of Rome, at first the actual dweller in that city, was subsequently the individual member of that State, residing in Italy, and finally in the provinces; certain rights were always reserved to the actual dwellers in Rome, but the term *citizen* with its essential rights was applied even to foreign towns, *MUNICPIA*.

The Roman Citizen had two classes of rights, the private rights *JUS QUIRITIUM*, and the public rights *JUS CIVITATIS*. As none of these rights could be exercised by any but Roman citizens, the possession of all or any of them constituted citizenship on the part of the individual holding them. And once a Roman Citizen, the individual could not by any process be deprived of citizenship,* against his own will. If the rights of a citizen were taken from any one, either by way of punishment or for any other cause, some fiction always took place. Thus, when citizens were banished, they did not expel them by force, but their goods were confiscated, and themselves were forbidden the use of fire and

* Cicero pro Dom. 29, 30, pro Caecin. 33.

water, (iis igne et aqua interdictum est) which obliged them to repair to some foreign place.

The Jus QUIRITIUM, or private rights of Roman citizens, were 1. *Jus Libertatis*, the right of liberty; 2. *Jus Gentilitatis et Familiae*, the right of family; 3. *Jus Connubii*, the right of marriage; 4. *Jus Patrium*, the right of a father; 5. *Jus Dominii Legitimi*, the right of legal property; 6. *Jus Testamenti et Haereditatis*, the right of making a will and of succeeding to an inheritance; 7. *Jus Tutelae*, the right of tutelage or wardship.

Let us take a glance at these private rights of Roman citizens, and make a comparison of them with the rights enjoyed by the blacks of the United States.

1st. *Jus LIBERTATIS*; *the right of liberty.* This included liberty from the power of masters, (*dominorum*) from the severity of magistrates, the cruelty of creditors, and the insolence of more powerful citizens.

The free blacks, in all the free States, and in the slave States (except where prohibited by statute law) have ever enjoyed this right, and their mode of redress, when wronged, in regard to it, are the same as that guaranteed to other citizens.

2nd. *Jus GENTILITATIS ET FAMILIAE*; *the right of family*, is especially proscribed in Art. 1, Sec. IX, clause 7, of the Constitution of the United States.

3rd. *Jus CONNUBII*; *the right of marriage.* No Roman citizen was permitted to marry a slave, barbarian, or a foreigner, unless by permission of the people.† "CONNUBIIUM" est matrimonium inter cives; inter servos autem, aut inter civem et peregrinæ conditionis homum—non est Connubium, sed Contubernium.‡ By the laws of the *Decemviri*, intermarriages between the Patricians and Plebeians were prohibited, just as in Massachusetts, intermarriages between whites and blacks were prohibited; but this restriction did not, in Rome, destroy the citizenship of the Plebeian, neither could it in Massachusetts, as Judge Taney affirms, destroy the citizenship of the negro. This restriction was soon abolished in Rome,§ as has been done in Massachusetts.

4th. *Jus PATRIUM*; *the right of a father.* Children, under Roman law, were the absolute slaves of their parents, (citizens,) who possessed even the power of putting them to death.—And the form of setting children free from this rule was very similar to that of emancipating a slave. The father signified, before a competent magistrate, with the consent of his son, that he freed him from his power by saying "Hunc sui Juris esse patior, meaque manu mitto." The same usage obtains in the United States, where the father (whether white or black) is free, and owns the mother of the child. The free blacks have the same parental rights which the common law gives to white citizens.

5th. *Jus DOMINI LEGITIMI*; *the right of property.* The right to hold and convey real estate has ever been enjoyed by the free blacks in these United States, except in a few of the slave States, where it has been withheld by special statute. In some if not all the States ALIENS do not enjoy this right, except by special statute.

6th. *Jus TESTAMENTI ET HAEREDITATIS*; *the right of making a will and of succeeding to an inheritance.* None but Roman citizens (*sui iuris*) could make a will, or be witnesses to a testament, or inherit any thing by testament.|| The free blacks throughout the United States enjoy this right except in some of the slave States, where, inhibited by statute law, the prohibition in most instances relating to the case only where the testator is white.

7th. *Jus TUTELAE*; *the right of tutelage or wardship.* Any father of a family might leave whom he pleased as guardians [*tutores*] to his children.¶ This right is also enjoyed by the free blacks of the United States, with ex-

ceptions similar to those just mentioned.

We will next look at the PUBLIC RIGHTS OF ROMAN CITIZENS. These were *Jus Census, Militiae, Tributorum, Suffragii Honorum, et Sacrorum.*

1st. *JUS CENSUS*; *the right of census.*—Two magistrates were first created A. U. 312, for taking an account of the number of the people and the value of their fortunes, (*censui, agendo*.) whence they were called *CENSORES*. And this account was taken for the basis of taxes. Other duties pertained to the office, but these only relate to the United States, and therefore come within our present subject.—Not only the free blacks, but even the *SLAVES* of the United States are included among those to whom the Constitution extends the *Jus CENSUS*; for all are enumerated as the basis of Representation, and, if need be, of taxation.* Among the Romans, slaves as well as aliens were excluded from the *Jus CENSUS*.

2. *JUS MILITIAE*; *the right of serving in the army.* The Constitution having Art. 1, Sec. 8, Clause 16, delegated to Congress the organization and regulation of the army, Congress has restricted the militia and regular army of the United States to free, able-bodied, white citizens; aliens however are enlisted, and have fought most of our battles. In several of the States, however, colored men were enlisted in the war of 1812. In Charleston, South Carolina, there was a company of colored men called the "Browns," in which Mr. John Mitchel, late of the city of New York, was a subaltern. In Virginia, in 1777, during the Revolution, in an Act for regulating and disciplining the militia, (Statutes at large, Vol. IX, p 267,) it had been enacted that "for forming the 'citizens' of this commonwealth into a militia"—"all free male persons between the ages of sixteen and sixty"—"shall by the commanding officer of the county in which they reside, be enrolled or formed into companies"—"the free mulattoes in said companies to be employed as drummers, fifers and pioneers;" and a subsequent provision was made (Same, p. 280) enlisting free negroes for actual service.

3. *JUS TRIBUTORUM*; *the right to be taxed*, is, of course, equally enjoyed by the free blacks in all the States of the Union; it is a mark of citizenship which the slave States have showered upon their free blacks with a most liberal hand.

4. *JUS SUFFRAGII*; *the right of voting.* In a majority of the States at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, free blacks exercised the right to vote, and were therefore entitled to that right in a majority of the States, including Virginia and North Carolina.

5. *JUS HONORUM*; *the right to hold office.* Although they have held but few public offices, there is no legal reason why a free black may not hold any office in many of the States; none why he may not become President of the United States.

6. *JUS SARCORUM*; *the right to minister in sacred things.* This right is enjoyed by the free blacks throughout the United States, under certain restrictions, in the slave States, looking to the possibility of an insurrection from this source. In both Greek and Roman polity, emancipation immediately conferred cit-

* They (the framers of the Constitution) had not then thought that taxation on all the imported goods was to be regarded as a blessing. On the contrary they expected that the expenses of government would be defrayed by direct taxation. Then it became an important question, How shall taxation be appointed among the people?—"Why," said men of the North, "according to population; and let every body white and black be enumerated." "No," replied the South, "for here are our Southern slaves who do not produce as much as your laborers. We ought not to be taxed according to population." And not only was there a compromise made on this subject, but they were ready to have their representation diminished by two fifths of their slaves, which, was not much thought of at the time, inasmuch as they obtained as a recompense what was esteemed by them as a great boon, namely, the taxation also in proportion to their numbers, omitting two fifths of their slaves. (Memoirs, speeches, and writings of Robert Bantoul, Jr., p. 738.)

izenship on the person emancipated.

Such are the rights which were attached to citizenship among the Romans. Such are the rights which constitute citizenship as expressed in the Constitution of the United States, because, in the absence of any definition of the word in that Constitution, the word must bear the meaning which language itself attaches to it under like circumstances, to wit, when it expresses the relation of the individual to the general government. As in Roman polity, the possession of any one of these rights constituted the possessor a citizen of the Republic, so it might be safely argued, that in these United States, the possession of any one of these rights confer citizenship on the possessor. For example, according to Justinian, a man emancipated became as free as his emancipator, that is, a citizen, immediately. According to Cicero,* when a slave was enrolled in the census, (by consent of his master,) he became free, that is, a citizen. Hence, when the framers of the Constitution, nearly all of them slaveholders, ordained the enrollment of slaves (if they were slaves, who were mentioned in the three-fifths clause) in the census, actually manumitted them and gave them the right of citizenship.

But in regard to the free blacks of the U. S., there need be no interposing inferences—Their right to citizenship is demonstrated as clearly as the meaning of the word itself. Enjoying each one, enjoying all the rights which constitute citizenship, they must be citizens of the United States, or there are no citizens of the United States. Their rights to citizenship of the United States is based upon a firmer foundation than legislative precedents, or judicial decisions, it is based upon the very meaning and definition of the term citizenship; and in order to impeach that right, it will be necessary to blot out from history the annals of lofty Rome, to erase from language the word citizen, and to efface from human polity the relation which the individual bears to the State, in a Republic. The free blacks are citizens of the United States under the Constitution thereof: it is, for us, a most excellent Constitution, "a better one," as FREDERICK DOUGLASS has well said, "than would be framed by a Convention held to-day in the United States." But whatever evil the framers of to-day might do, they could not deprive free blacks of citizenship. Such deprivation is not in the nature of things. The framers of the Constitution, like they who superintended, or rather witnessed the growth of and ideas of citizenship in Rome, could no more help admitting freed men to citizenship, than could the bee, with his hexagonal eye lenses, avoid building a hexagonal cell. It is this fundamental difficulty which attempts to exclude free blacks from Virginia, South Carolina and Oregon.

Relying upon this basis for our claims to citizenship, we blacks may smile at the Dred Scott decision, and the various rulings of the minions of slaveholders, who hold for the time the Executive power of the general government. We can safely bide our time; we must enforce a full acknowledgment of our rights in the free States, and thus obtain a stand point from which we can put in practice the glorious principles which, whether uttered by ROBESPIERRE or GERRIT SMITH, point out in living light our path of duty.

1. Les hommes de tous les pays sont frères, et les différents Peuples o'entr'aider selon leur pouvoir comme les citoyens du même Etat.—2. Celui qui opprime une Nation se déclare l'ennemi de toutes.—3. Ceux qui font la guerre à un Peuple pour arrêter les progrès de la liberté et les droits de l'homme doivent être pour-nuvis par tous, non comme des ennemis ordinaires, mais comme des assassins et des brigands rebelles.—4. Les Rois, les Aristocrates, les Tyrans, (including slaveholders and their abettors,) quels qu'ils soient, sont des esclaves révoltés contre le Souverain de la terre, qui est le *Genre humain*, et contre le *Legislateur de l'Univers*, qui est la Nature." (Debates in Con. Hist. de la Rev.,

† Liv. XXXVIII. 36.

‡ Boeth. in Cic. Top. 4.

§ Liv. 4, 6.

|| Cic. pro Arch. 5. Dom. 32.

¶ Liv. 1. 34.

* Cic. Caecin. 34,599.

France, par M. Cabet. Tome III, p. 461.)

NOTE.—Professor WOOLSEY in the *New Englander* for August, 1857, in his able review of the Classical Quotations in Judge DANIELS' opinion on the Dred Scott case, seems hardly clear on one point. The term *ingenuus* not only meant "the child of freed persons," as the Professor states; it was more especially applied to those who having been free born, (*ingenui*), and subsequently reduced to slavery by sale (from the father) or otherwise, were finally emancipated; an *ingenuus*, therefore, was a free born emancipated slave, a *libertinus* a slave-born emancipated slave.

MISCELLANEOUS NEWS ITEMS

The committee to arrange for the Convention of colored persons of New England, and of such other States as may choose to unite, have agreed upon the 1st of August as the time of meeting. The Convention is to meet in the city of Boston, and is to take into consideration what course of action is to be taken by the colored people in the Presidential canvass of 1860.

Mr. G. B. Tucker, of Georgetown, Ky., has manumitted nine slaves, four adults and five children, and sent them to Ohio.

The difficulties between the inhabitants of Fannin County, Texas, and the anti-slavery Methodists located in that quarter, have been temporarily settled by the latter agreeing for a time to abstain from preaching. The Texas Advocate, the organ of the Methodist Church, (South,) fully and warmly endorses the proceedings of the people, and urges the thorough and immediate eradication of the Methodist Church (North) in Texas, with whatever force may be necessary.

Clem Jenkins, a well known colored man, and formerly a servant of the late Col. Tilghman, last week sailed from Baltimore for Europe. He went out as head coachman to Jerome Bonaparte, who goes to Europe to pay his nephew, the Emperor of France, a friendly visit.

James Buchanan, President of the United States, was 68 years old on Saturday, April 23.

Antioch College is on its feet once more.—The recent purchasers have transferred it to the original owners, and free of debt.

The Marshal who has the Oberlin rescuers in custody, reports daily to the President.

The Louisville Courier declares that when the North refuses by a sectional vote in Congress to protect slavery in the Territories, it will be in favor of a Southern Republic.

Rev. Wm. H. Channing, of Liverpool, England, has accepted the call of the 13th Congregational Society of Boston, as successor of the Rev. Mr. Coolidge.

A slave being asked if his master was a Christian, replied, "No, Sir, he's a Member of Congress." Quite two different things!

By a recent decision of the Supreme Court of Maine, the American Peace Society comes into possession of \$12,000, left by will to that Society, by Wm. Ludd, many years since.

Frank Blair, in a speech delivered in St. Louis, said that "one slave stands more in the way of building a railroad, than three mountains."

Large and enthusiastic indignation meetings have and are now being held in the towns of the Western Reserve, Ohio, denouncing the doings of the Federal Court and Federal officials, now going on in Cleveland.

John S. Holland of Kentucky, offers \$150 reward for the return to his "service" of Thomas Whitlock, a Methodist minister! The poor sinner evidently considers himself unsafe without the prayers and preachments of his slave minister, and could he catch the ungrateful Methodist who has accepted an urgent "call" elsewhere, he would doubtless anoint his back with "holy unction" afresh.

The late C. F. Hovey, Esq., by his will made the Anti Slavery cause, Women's Rights and Non-Resistance his residuary legatees through the agency of Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Francis Jackson and others. The amount to be expended for the good of these various causes, in lectures and publications. The amount thus bestowed is something like \$30,000.

A negro slave, placed by his master in Northcutt's jail, in Lexington, Ky., for sale last week, made a desperate attempt to swindle his master, by cutting off his own fingers, with a view to delay or prevent his sale. A few days after he further swindled his master by taking the lockjaw and dying.

The ship *Rebecca*, with 42 negroes belonging to the McDonogh estate, left New Orleans April 27, direct for Liberia. They are accompanied by a physician, who will look to their health during the voyage, and are provided with money, clothes, household implements, and agricultural instruments of every description.—On their arrival, the Liberia Emigration Society will take charge of them during six months, and help them to establish themselves.

A writer in the *Richmond Dispatch* takes a more sensible view than usually prevails in that region, on the question of labor. This writer says that there is a scarcity of labor in Richmond, that the productive interests are suffering from this deficiency, and that white labor, although the best, cheapest and most profitable, is not to be obtained. He advises, therefore, that the laws be so modified as to invite to the city the free negroes, who are now repelled, and to employ them.

A fair anecdote is told in the *Press* of Gov. Seward. During the recent session of the Methodist Conference at Auburn, an elder noticed the devout attention of the Senator, and he asked the latter to what church he belonged.—"Well," said Seward, after a moment's thought, "I will tell you; ecclesiastically I am an Episcopalian, but politically I'm a Methodist!"

A free negro named Edmund Day was taken from a steamboat at Cincinnati on Sunday last by a couple of ruffians, gagged, and taken across the river in a skiff to Newport, Ky., and lodged in jail, on pretense that he was a slave. He was finally released, and got back to Cincinnati.

The Oberlin prisoners, in jail at Cleveland, have issued an address to the people of the Western Reserve, setting forth the facts of their case, and declaring the reasons of their refusal to enter into new recognizances. They charge the Court with a desire to humiliate them and insure their conviction, but express a firm determination to follow the course they have adopted, preferring to remain prisoners rather than yield.

The Akron Beacon convicts Judge Wilson of the United States District Court, before which Bushnell and Langston were tried, of having kidnapped a colored boy, in 1841, for which act he was indicted by a Grand Jury in Erie County, at Buffalo.

The Congregational Association of Michigan, now sitting in Detroit, take ground against the American Tract Society, on account of its refusal to publish anything on the subject of Slavery.

District Attorney Belden of Cleveland is also Brigadier General of the Ohio militia. The Columbus Journal says that he has issued an order to the commandant of a military company in Canton to hold his company in readiness to act in the United States service at a moment's warning.

A dispatch from Columbus informs us that the Supreme Court have decided the Bushnell and Langston Habeas Corpus Case, by remanding the prisoners. Judges Sutliffe and Brinkerhoof dissented. The majority base their decision upon precedent, and not upon their own opinions as to the strict constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law.

A resolution recommending the exclusion of free negroes from the State of Ohio was introduced into the recent Democratic State Convention held at Columbus. Senator Pugh opposed and prevented its passage, because, he said, public sentiment was not yet ripe for the measure. He said one thousand slaves a year were brought into Hamilton County to be manumitted.

A letter from Rev. Theodore Parker represents him as improving in health. He expected to leave Santa Cruz in an English steamer for Southampton, England.

The Columbus Gazette states that thirty negroes from North Carolina, who had lately been emancipated by their master, recently passed through that city, on their way, as is said, to the northern part of the county, where they intended settling.

A copy of Dr. Cheever's great work, "God against Slavery" was recently sent to the Queen of England, by one of his friends. Sir C. B. Phipps sent a most courteous reply, to the effect that Her Majesty was graciously pleased to accept of the work.

The refusal of the South Carolina Court to convict Capt. Townsend, of the slaver *Echo*, is another and conclusive evidence that the Southern people who are interested directly in maintaining slavery, will do all in their power to re-open the African slave trade. Here is a clear case of piracy, which lacks no link of evidence. and the Charleston Court deliberately acquits the chief and all the parties engaged in it. The battle will have to be fought on this great question before ten years have passed.

The Savannah Republican says:—"Philip McNulty, a traveling agent for a patent bedstead, hailing from Ohio, was detected last week in an attempt to decoy certain slaves of Covington to a free State. The citizens of that place rid themselves of the scamp by shearing his locks, applying a thick coat of printer's ink to his person, and then riding him on a rail to the depot, where he was allowed to depart. Served him exactly right, only a good cowhiding might have justly been added."

Messrs. Jennings, Lowe, Davis and Mitchell, the kidnappers, have been liberated on bail of \$800 each with good sureties. Their trials are set for the 6th of July next, in the Lorain Common Pleas. They are to be defended by the U.S. District Attorney, free of charge, in pursuance of instructions from Washington. So the people of the United States are to be taxed to pay the expense of defending these land pirates.

The latest intelligence from Senator Sumner gives hope of his ability to occupy the seat from which he was so ruffianly struck down, at the opening of the next Congress.

An attempt to revolutionize Cuba by means of 35 filibusters and 240 guns, failed in consequence of the boats of the brig *African*, which carried the invading army from New York to that island, having been swamped in an attempt to land the munitions of war. After this disaster, the *African* made the best of her way to Port-au-Prince. Gen. Concha dispatched a war steamer to capture the filibusters.

The Boston branch of the American Tract Society have passed a resolution withdrawing from the latter Society.

HUMAN SLAVERY AS A MEANS OF GOSPEL GRACE.—Rev. Nehemiah Adams has thus recorded his faith in human slavery as a means of gospel grace. He says:

"Of all the situations in which human beings can be placed favorable to the salvation of the soul, under faithful efforts on the part of teachers, it is difficult to conceive of one better suited to this end, and, in fact, more successful than the relation of these slaves to their Christian masters."

And the same eminent Boston Divine, Dr. Adams, has thus expressed his pious longing for the revival of the African slave-trade:

"Such have been the marvellous acts of Divine grace to the Africans, in bringing them, through the cupidity and sinfulness of men, to this country, and saving a great multitude of them, that it requires neither strong faith nor fancy to suppose that this work might still go on in the interchange of the blacks between Africa and the Southern States."

AN UNDERGROUND RAILROAD MAN CAUGHT.—A white man and a negro were given over to the authorities of Audrain County, at Mexico, two or three days ago, under suspicious circumstances. They were found on the cars above Mexico, by conductor Blackburn, and their suspicious behavior excited attention.—Upon being questioned, it was evident that the white man was attempting to run the negro off. On the person of the white man were found conductors' checks over the Terre Haute, Alton and St. Louis road to Pana, Illinois. No direct answer could be obtained from either of them, and Mr. Blackburn, being satisfied that it was a concerted plan to run off the negro, delivered both to the authorities of Audrain County. An examination was to take place yesterday.—*St. Louis Republican*, etc.